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THEMATIC VARIATION

Amran Halim
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eds



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INTRODUCTION

The Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics was held in Bali, Indonesia, in January 1981. Amran Halim, as Conference Organiser, and Stephen Wurm, as OCICAL committee member (now its Chairman) and as General Editor of Pacific Linguistics publications, decided that in addition to the Proceedings volume which would be published in Jakarta, a selection of the conference papers should be published, largely for the international readership, by Pacific Linguistics.

Three of the series of four volumes appeared in 1982: the first is *Currents in Oceanic*, the second *Tracking the travellers*; they deal with reconstructions, language movements, phonological changes and related areas of linguistics. The third volume, *Accent on variety*, includes many of the more interesting papers in sociolinguistics which were offered at TICAL. This volume, the fourth and final, is *Thematic variation*. It was intended, when the series was first planned, that volume four would include papers of syntactic, morphological and similar interest. This it does, but there is a bonus! Initially, the plan outlined at the Bali conference was for Pacific Linguistics to publish only papers which had been presented in English at TICAL. However, changing times and emphases, and the noted upsurge of interest in linguistic work in the Indonesian area, led us to agree that a small selection of the papers in Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia should indeed be published by Pacific Linguistics. This we have done; some follow upon the theme of volume four, although the greater number are in fact complementary to that of volume three. We welcome, nonetheless, the opportunity to publish a representative sample of the many excellent papers available.

Our thanks are due, for helpful comments and services, to C.L. Voorhoeve, Marit Kana, D.P. Tampubolon, Bambang Kaswanti Purwo and Yohanni Johns, and especially to Elvina Tamsin. Manlio Pancino's mapping skills are once again much appreciated, as are the excellent efforts of our typesetters including, for the final section, Ling Matsay.

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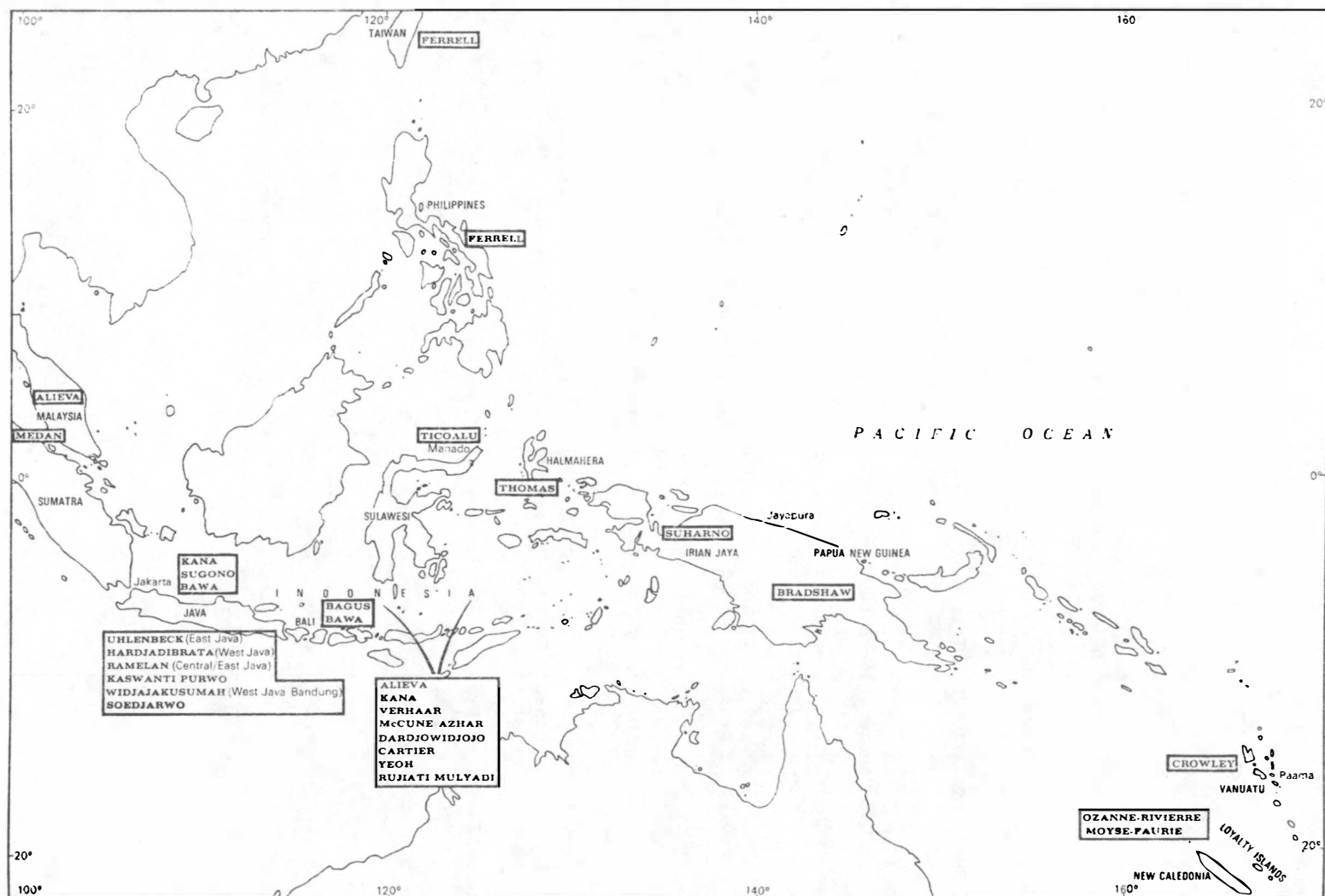
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Location of language areas referred to by the authors

INTENT AND VOLITION IN PAIWAN AND TAGALOG VERBS

Raleigh J. Ferrell

1. FOCUS AND INTENTIVE AFFIXES

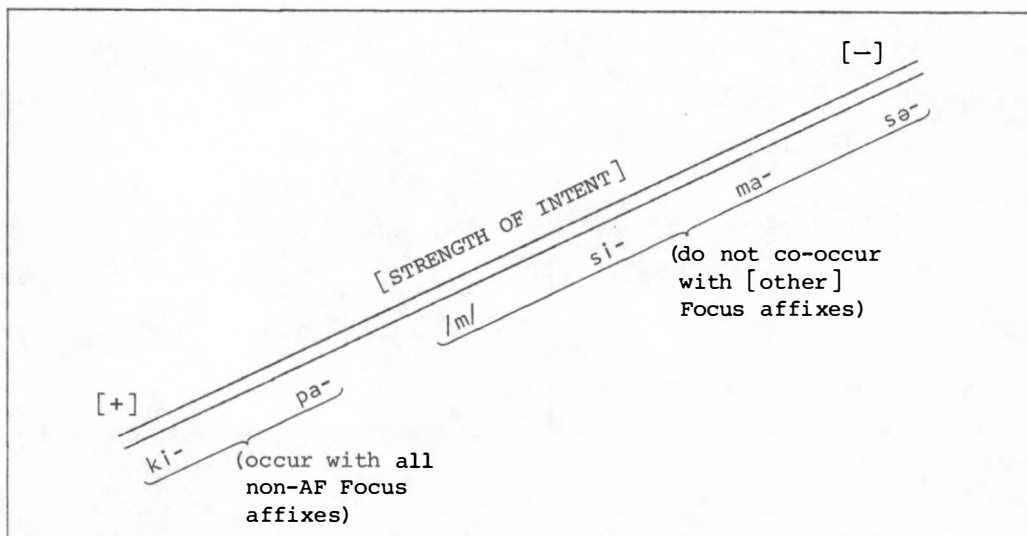
The Paiwan (Formosa/Taiwan) Focus verbal affix system may be summarised as follows:¹

FOCUS	ASPECTS			
	Neutral 'Present'	Perfective 'Past'	Subordinate/ Imperative	Projective 'Future'
AF (agent/actor)	/m/	na + /m/	- ϕ (action) -u (actor)	
OF (object/goal/ patient)	-ən	/in/	-i	-aw
RF (spatial- temporal locus/ indirect object/ beneficiary referent)	-an	/in/ + -an	-an	-ay
IF (instrument/ cause/motivation/ origin)	si-	s/in/i-		

From another perspective we may perceive, interacting with and intersecting this Focus system, a system of voicelike affixes indicating varying degrees of intent or volition on the part of actor or patient. These Intensive affixes may be arranged on a continuum of intention/non-intention:

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It will be seen that two of these Intensive affixes, /m/ and si-, are also part of the Focus affix system. The Intensive affixes carry roughly the following volitional associations:

- ki- [INTENTIONAL] *get/do for oneself; cause to occur to or be done to oneself*
- pa- [INTENTIONAL] *cause/do action directed away from oneself (may or may not involve a secondary agent)*
- /m/ [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] *do/be agent of action*
- si- [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] *be instigator/actor/ beneficiary/instrument of action; do action (in one of these roles)*
- ma⁻² [NON-INTENTIONAL] *be object/recipient of action (usually involves outside agent); be in a state of*
- sə- [NON-INTENTIONAL] *occur/experience something unexpectedly or suddenly*

Paradigmatic examples of Paiwan Intensive affixes used with different types of verb stem are (cf. Ferrell, 1982):

- kəʔaŋ *understand, know about*
- ki-kəʔaŋ *(undertake to) learn about*
- pa-kəʔaŋ *cause understanding; inform someone*
- k/m/əʔaŋ *understand, know about*
- si-kəʔaŋ *instigate/benefit from/be instrument of understanding*
- ma-kəʔaŋ *be(come) known about*
- sə-kəʔaŋ *learn/be learned about unexpectedly*

laŋəda *hear*

ki-laŋəda	<i>listen to (willingly); obey</i>
pa-laŋəda	<i>tell to someone; cause hearing to occur</i>
l/m/aŋəda	<i>hear</i>
si-laŋəda	<i>be reason/instrument of the occurrence of hearing something</i>
ma-laŋəda	<i>be(come) heard; be audible</i>
sə-laŋəda	<i>hear unexpectedly</i>

qərən *lie on back*

pa-qərən	<i>lay someone on back</i>
sə-qərən	<i>fall flat on back</i>

adʷuq *leave behind*

ki-adʷuq	<i>remain behind (voluntarily)</i>
pa-adʷuq	<i>cause something to be left behind</i>
/m/-adʷuq	<i>leave something behind (intentionally)</i>
ma-adʷuq	<i>be(come) left behind</i>

gutsguts *scratch*

ki-gutsguts	<i>scratch oneself (to relieve itch)</i>
pa-gutsguts	<i>be itchy; cause scratching</i>
g/m/utsguts	<i>scratch (when itching); to weed field</i>
ma-gutsguts	<i>be(come) scratched (for itch); ready for weeding</i>
si-gutsguts	<i>cause scratching; be used for scratching</i>
sə-gutsguts	<i>be scratched unexpectedly</i>

The derivational nature of these affixes can be seen by the way in which they can be stacked up, giving great flexibility to the language:

patsay *die*

/m/atsay	<i>die [note suppletive form]</i>
ki-patsay	<i>kill oneself (voluntarily), commit suicide</i>
pa-patsay	<i>kill someone</i>
si-patsay	<i>be deadly; be instrument/cause/beneficiary of a death</i>
pa-ki-patsay	<i>cause someone to commit suicide</i>
ki-pa-patsay	<i>to get someone to kill someone else</i>
si-pa-ki-patsay	<i>to cause someone to cause someone else to kill himself</i>
pa-sə-pa-ki-patsay	<i>to cause someone to inadvertently cause someone to kill himself</i>

As will be surmised from the foregoing examples, it is erroneous to consider *pa-* to be the 'causative' affix in Paiwan: causation in the sense of the involvement of a secondary agent is far from being the most common function of this affix. Furthermore, with many verb bases the affixes */m/* and *si-* may involve the occurrence of secondary agents as well, as seen in foregoing examples. In many verbs, the *pa-* form indicates merely a somewhat stronger degree of deliberation than with */m/*; often, free variation appears to be involved, and even any earlier distinction of deliberateness is no longer felt:

t/m/ədək	<i>insert something into something else as an adornment</i>
pa-tədək	(ibid.)
t/m/utu	<i>suckle [tutu breast]</i>
pa-tutu	(ibid.)
k/m/ulalu	<i>play flute [ku!a!u flute]</i>
pa-kulalu	(ibid.)
ki-təvəla	<i>respond, reply to</i>
pa-təvəla	(ibid.)
t/m/əvəla	(ibid.)
q/m/abu	<i>submerge something</i>
pa-qabu	(ibid.) [cf. sə-qabu <i>be submerged involuntarily/drown</i>]
dʏ/m/ivits	<i>reach (for), attain</i>
pa-dʏivits	(ibid.)
sə-dʏivits	(ibid.) [unexpectedly]

In some verbs no /m/ form is found at all; some common examples are:

pa-qətsi	<i>kill/cause someone to kill, by cutting</i>
pa-vay	<i>give</i>
pa-tsun	<i>see; look at</i>

Additional examples of /m/ carrying a 'causative' meaning are:

ma-dʏiɬaŋ	<i>be(come) rusty [dʏiɬaŋ rust, corrosion]</i>
dʏ/m/iɬaŋ	<i>cause something to become rusty</i>
ma-dʏəɬək	<i>be(come) fond of</i>
dʏ/m/əɬək	<i>cause someone to become fond of a person/object/place; [in its Nominal sense: object/person/place which one has become fond of]</i>
ma-kəlu	<i>fall (from a height)</i>
ki-kəlu	<i>let oneself fall/be dropped</i>
k/m/əlu	<i>cause something to fall (as, fruit from tree)</i>

Similarly, while ma- generally marks stative verbs ('adjectives') on the one hand and the passive (or better, potential passive) of transitive verbs on the other, there are numerous instances where ma- represents volitional gradation rather than non-active voice:

ki-silidʏ	<i>slide, scoot (as on buttocks) [wilfully]</i>
s/m/ilidʏ	(ibid.) [intent unspecified]
ma-silidʏ	(ibid.) [unintentionally]

The Instrumental affix si- is most interesting in that its association with the instrument, cause, motivation, or origin of an action potentially identifies it semantically not only with the literal instrument or secondary agent, but also with either the logical agent or the logical object of specific verbs, as in the following examples:

vaik	<i>go, leave [irregular; has no /m/ AF form]</i>
si-vaik	(1) IF: <i>be instrument/cause/origin(ator) of action</i> (2) <i>go on behalf of someone else</i> (3) <i>be (something which must be) taken along</i>
k/m/avut	<i>beg</i>
si-kavut	<i>cause someone to beg (be reason for or instigator of begging)</i>
t/m/aləm ³	<i>to plant (tuber or sprout)</i>
si-taləm	(ibid.) (= <i>be human-instrument of planting</i>)
q/m/azaɬ	<i>frighten someone (as, an apparition)</i>
si-qazaɬ	(ibid.); <i>be frightful</i>

But:

b/n/urəs	<i>cause liquid to spew out</i>
si-bures	<i>be (liquid that is) spewed out</i>
ts/m/aiŋ	<i>tether/tie/fasten</i>
si-tsaŋ	<i>be (what is) tied/tethered</i>
dʷ/m/apəs	<i>blow with breath</i>
si-pa-dʷapəs	<i>cause blowing to occur: (1) be reason for blowing</i> <i>(2) be object of blowing</i>

Among other things, the foregoing illustrations of the uses of various affixes should serve notice on us as to the extremely tricky nature of assigning 'meaning' to verbs and affixes in Austronesian languages strictly from the point of view of our own, outside semantic presuppositions — which we seem to suppose represents semantic objectivity at a universal level.

The Instrumental Focus is notoriously unstable in its representation in various Austronesian languages, and is said to have disappeared altogether in a number of them. The semantic slipperiness of this 'fourth focus' (see Dahl 1978), with its potential for confusion or merger with both agent and object as well as (literal) instrument, may well provide a clue as to why, in languages apparently moving away from the 'classical' Austronesian four-focus-marking system, the Instrument Focus seems to be first to go.

This Intensive affix system is very productive in Paiwan, and considerable colour is given to Paiwan discourse by playing upon the emotional impact of intent/non-intent contrasts such as that between *ma-* and *sə-*, /m/ and pa-.

In Paiwan, Focus appears to be used in discourse (primarily ?) to introduce new information. That is, the Focus inflection of the verb indicates that the in-focus Noun Phrase — even where the latter is deleted — is the focal point of new information or a new aspect of the discourse.⁴ I believe that one of the difficulties impeding Austronesianists' efforts to come to grips satisfactorily with the discourse-level functions of Focus, is that this overlap or criss-crossing of affixes employed in both the Focus system and other systems, such as the one I have tentatively called 'Intensive' in this paper, may not be restricted to Paiwan alone but may underly other languages' syntactic system as well.

2. INTENT IN OTHER AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

An obvious question at this point is whether the Intensive affix system herein described is a development peculiar to Paiwan, or whether it may represent an inheritance from earlier proto-language(s), or even Proto-Austronesian. A search for truly comparable comparative data in other Austronesian languages is frustrating, in that few sources get into the subtleties of intent and volition. It goes without saying that all human languages must have ways of expressing volition and intent; the question is whether there is discoverable in Austronesian languages some commonality of overt syntactic marking to achieve this.

Tagalog, as described by Schachter and Otnes (1972), shows an analogous concern with intent.⁵ Major affixes which are roughly comparable to the Paiwan ones discussed in this paper include:

mag-	Agent Focus; appears to not co-occur with non-AF affixes; indicates <i>deliberate action</i> (Schachter and Otnes 1972:289)
------	--

/um/	Agent Focus; appears to not co-occur with non-AF affixes; indicates <i>casual action</i> (Schachter and Otanes 1972:292)
i-	(i-pagi, etc.) Instrument Focus/'Causative' Focus/'Benefactive' Focus (Schachter and Otanes 1972:311ff., 319)
ma-, maka-	Ability verbs; involuntary action verbs (co-occur with all non-AF affixes except -in (Schachter and Otanes 1972:330)
mag-	(usually: +reduplication) Intensive verbs; frequent, prolonged, or purposeful action (Schachter and Otanes 1972:337)
magkanda-	(etc.) Accidental or involuntary action verbs. (Schachter and Otanes 1972:342)

Superficially, at least, Tagalog mag- as indicating deliberate action appears to be roughly comparable to Paiwan pa-; Tagalog /um/ compares with Paiwan /m/ in being somewhat non-deliberate; Tagalog i indicating 'Causative Focus' and 'Benefactive Focus' as well as 'Instrument Focus' seems to have many semantic features in common with the cognate Paiwan si-, although Schachter and Otanes do not discuss deliberateness of action in connection with this affix; Tagalog ma-/maka- indicating ability/involuntary action is comparable to Paiwan ma-; and Tagalog magkanda- and related forms function similarly to Paiwan sə-, indicating accidental or involuntary action. It will be noted that of the affixes listed here, most are cognate between Tagalog and Paiwan. There are obvious differences, for example where Tagalog ma- co-occurs with various non-Agent Focus affixes, while Paiwan ma- does not so co-occur.⁶ Tagalog magkanda- and related forms, on the other hand, are obviously not cognate with Paiwan sə-, but do function very similarly.

The presence of interrelated affixation systems for Focus and Intent in Paiwan, a Formosan language, and apparently in Tagalog, a Philippine one, suggests that these crisscrossing systems may probably represent inherited features of whatever proto-language was common to (at least some) Formosan and Philippine languages. According to several scholars, the Formosan languages in general may represent a single, early offshoot of Austronesian; to the extent that this may be true, it is worth investigating the possibility that an overlapping Focus and Intensive affixational system may have been a feature of Proto-Austronesian itself.

The aim of this communication is to call attention to the phenomenon of volition/intent in Paiwan verbal syntax, and to request the assistance of colleagues working in other Austronesian areas in order to examine comparatively this potentially important aspect of Austronesian syntax.

NOTES

1. Focus in Austronesian languages is a sentence-level, overt marking system whereby the predicate obligatorily undergoes derivational affixation to identify with one of a restricted number of possible semantic aspects of the happening (typically agent, goal, temporal/spatial specificity or location, instrument/motivation). Strictly speaking, Austronesian Focus is not topicalisation of one of the overt NP's of the sentence, but rather of one of the restricted number of underlying semantic-role categories which NP's may fulfill with reference to specific verbs. This semantic-role focus is indicated by the obligatory Focus inflection on the verb;

the occurrence of an overt NP identifying or explicating the in-focus element is optional. If such an identificational NP does occur in the sentence, it is marked by an equational Construction Marker (CM=) or by whatever other copula-like linking device the particular language uses in strictly equational sentences. Typically, as is the case in Paiwan, all other NP's in the sentence are marked simply as being non-equational vis-a-vis the focussed verb, except that the Agent NP may be indicated by the genitive/partitive marker (CMgen). In addition to being marked by non-equational devices, NP's of time and place may be preceded by preposition-like specifiers (in Paiwan these may be considered to be actually conjunct verbs). Focus is independent of emphasis. NP's in the sentence may be given, e.g., primary or secondary emphasis (typically by such devices as preposing), whether or not the sentence contains a so-called 'in-focus NP' which is equated to the focussed verb. Conversely, if an 'in-focus NP' does occur, it will not necessarily be the NP marked for emphasis.

2. The affixes most commonly used in connection with focus upon a direct object in Paiwan are: *ma-* indicating primarily potential for being done, *-ən* indicating that the action is actually being done to the object, and */in/* indicating that it has already been done. This oversimplification, however, fails to note that there is a syntactic distinction made between the relation of agent and action in *-ən* and *ma-* forms, respectively. In the former, the genitive/partitive Construction Marker *nua* marks the agent, as is true with all other non-AF sentences; in the latter, uniquely, the agent is indicated to be an ancillary referent by the non-specific (non-equational and non-genitive/partitive) Construction Marker *tua*:
 - (a) *tarən-ən a tsautsau nua tsəmas*
protect-OF CM= person CMgen spirits
the spirits are protecting the person
 - (b) *ma-tarən a tsautsau tua tsəmas*
PASSIVE-protect CM= person CM# spirits
the person is protected by the spirits
3. The stem *taləm* *something which is planted/plantable* is itself the object.
4. In this regard, note that the Paiwan Construction Markers *a* and *tua* do not in themselves directly indicate definiteness or indirectness (cf. Naylor 1978:412). Inasmuch as the CM= marks the in-focus NP, which tends to indicate 'new' information in the discourse, the *a-* marked NP would frequently be translated as indefinite in English. However, since *tua* is then used to mark all other NP's in the sentence, whether these involve 'new' or 'old' information, there is no direct equivalence with definiteness as indicated by English the or a(n).
5. I have no competence in Tagalog, nor have I had opportunity in preparing this communication to confer with native Tagalog speakers regarding these assumptions. My only reference has been Schachter and Otnes (1972), who bear no blame if I have misread their work.
6. Amis (Formosan) appears to resemble Tagalog, as opposed to Paiwan, in the co-occurrence of *ma-* with a full set of Focus affixes.
7. Comparison with Indonesian *ter-* also comes to mind here.

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TWO MECHANISMS OF JAVANESE SYNTAX: THE CONSTRUCTION WITH sing (kang, ingkang) AND WITH olehe (enggone, anggenipun)

E.M. Uhlenbeck

1. The topic of this paper is the syntactic behaviour in Javanese of two syntactic function words: sing and olehe, together with their equivalents in polite and colloquial speech and the forms with pronominal suffixes such as olehku and olehmu and their krama-counterparts.

Traditionally sing and olehe are treated in different parts of the grammar. Here a unified treatment will be proposed. A full description will not be attempted here, as such a description would go well beyond the scope of a conference paper. Instead I will concentrate on the main features of the constructions in which these syntactic function words enter, explain their basic similarities and differences, and finally I will try to show how they fit into more general characteristics of Javanese sentence structure.

Since our topic is a syntactic one, it presupposes a certain theoretical syntactic framework which itself must be part of a more general conception of language. Linguists from Herman Paul onwards have correctly understood that there cannot be language description without a theory, but there is also no language description without data. Therefore something has to be said both about the theory adopted and the data used before I can begin with my *exposé* of the sing- and olehe-constructions.

As to the general theory underlying my syntactic work, its main principles may be summarised under the following six headings.

(1) Linguistics is the empirical study of speech and language. This statement implies positively that the analysis of the act of speech (including the interpretative activity of the hearer) is considered to be a prime concern of linguistics. To understand language one must first of all ask, how it is used and what are the main factors which are responsible for the fact that what the speaker wants to convey is by and large understood by the hearer. Negatively, that a competence/performance distinction or a rigorous separation of langue and parole is not part of our conception, and that (consequently) something like competence is not viewed as a primary goal of linguistic study.

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(2) Linguistics is concerned with the study of a form of purposive activity by which humans interact and communicate. This statement implies positively: (a) acceptance of linguistics as an autonomous science, (b) the necessity of knowing the content of communication and its social context; and negatively: (a) rejection of the assumption that language can be described as a formal system, (b) rejection of one-sided views of linguistics either as part of (cognitive) psychology, or as part of sociology.

(3) Linguistics is concerned with the study of lingual signs. This statement emphasises positively that semantics is a central domain of linguistics, and negatively (a) that there is no room in our conception for a surface/deep structure dichotomy, (b) that there is no linguistic meaning divorced from linguistic form.

(4) Linguistics is concerned with the study of open systems, fundamentally different from any artificial language. Characterisation of a language as a code is misleading, both because of its structure and because of the way it is used.

Every language is structured in such a way that it gives every native speaker the means for productive and creative use within a framework of obligatory syntactic, morphological, and phonological rules. The syntactic rules allow combinatorial semantic freedom, the morphological rules describe productive procédés available to every speaker, and word meaning is a form of knowledge that can be creatively used in various ways (e.g. metaphor). Every language is a functional structure of which obligatoriness and freedom are design features.

(5) Language is always used in conjunction with extralingual information from different sources. The speaker assumes that the hearer will be able to infer from the linguistic information inherent in what the speaker says, and from the extralingual sources at the hearer's disposal, what the speaker wants to convey to him. Conversely, the hearer always assumes that the speaker wants to convey something to him, and that the speaker apparently believes that he, the hearer, is able to determine what this is.

(6) Linguistic structure has a dual character: in every act of speech one finds the simultaneous presence of two, and not more than two, fundamentally different correlative units: words and sentences.

Sentences are universally characterised by the presence of two components or layers: the intonational and the phatic component. The phatic layer contains minimally one word, in most cases more than one. Words are characterised by having three aspects: a phonic, a semantic, and a grammatical aspect. All further distinctions to be made are integrated within this word-sentence framework.

It is within this general framework that the study of syntax is conceived. Given the central place allotted to word and sentence, it is not surprising that the two fundamental concepts of syntax are word group and sentence segment.

Grouping of words into larger units and these in turn into more complicated structures takes place in all languages, but the rules for grouping are of course not at all identical: they are largely language specific. The central function of the grouping of words into larger wholes is a cognitive one: it brings about interaction of the meanings of the words combined. The result of this semantic interaction depends on the semantic type of the words united (appellative + appellative, appellative + deictic word, deictic word + deictic word). By the rules of grouping the referring capacity of a language is

enormously increased as, by grouping, a very large number of ad hoc units can be made without putting too much strain on the memory of the speakers. With a limited lexicon at their disposal, they can refer to a multitude of things in extralingual reality, by combining those lexical elements according to the rules of their language.

As to segmentation, that is, the articulation of sentences into syntagmatically functioning segments, this is also a universal phenomenon, but this does not imply of course that every single sentence is segmented, just as it is not necessary that every sentence contains word groups. Sentence segments are characterised, like the sentence, by the simultaneous presence of an intonational and a phatic component. The latter minimally contains one word, but many consist of quite complicated word groups. Segmentation fulfils a function quite different from grouping. Basically this function concerns the way the information inherent in the sentence is presented. Some parts can be highlighted, others put in the background, still others added as an afterthought or intercalated within segments. For examples I have to refer to Uhlenbeck 1975.

As word group and sentence segment are the basic units of syntax, full understanding of a sentence can only be reached if one is able to determine its segmentation and the word grouping it contains. One has to bear in mind that the syntactic descriptive task is not exactly the same for word groups and sentence segments. The general principle which governs grouping is obligatoriness: it is only rarely that one finds optional phenomena. This means that the suitable descriptive format here is a description by rule. In general everything in language which is obligatory, is amenable to strict rule. However, as to segmentation, one finds that the general principle is freedom within a large but limited set of segmental permutations. There appear to be few absolute constraints, in most cases there are only preferred sequences and others which are less likely to occur, but are rarely absolutely excluded. From the point of view of the speaker, one may say that this segmentation device that he has at his disposal is a very subtle instrument for presenting what he has to say in slightly different manners and with different emphases. It is here that the distinction between topic and comment operates, a distinction which — as I showed already in my short Javanese grammar of 1941 — is indispensable for any account of the Javanese syntactic facts.

It is perhaps not superfluous to add that neither a constituent analysis of the type introduced by Neo-Bloomfieldian linguistics, nor the familiar concepts of traditional grammar such as subject, predicate, object and the like, are adopted in the syntactic approach advocated here. All other distinctions used in the following sections derive from other provinces of Javanese grammar, notably phonology, morphophonemics, and morphology, which have been the object of earlier studies.

About the data I will be very brief. The data to be used in linguistic research are all forms of speech. They include: instances of actual language use in the language community, data derived from linguistic interviews, from carefully controlled experiments, from written sources, from speech errors, from translations, from mistakes made in the study of foreign languages, from literary use, from cases of aphasia, from language acquisition by children and by foreigners. This implies: no blind reliance on data produced by the linguist in his capacity of native speaker of the language, reluctance to accept so-called intuitions as data, and in general a serious concern with the empirical data.

As to the Javanese data used in my research on the sing- and olehe- constructions, they are of two kinds. Those collected either by myself or by Mrs Siti Sundari Tjitrosubono Sudaryanto from written sources, that is from a large variety of more or less recent novels and newspapers, and from interviews with a number of Javanese informants, the oldest being Mr J. Soegiarto, the youngest Mr I. Supriyanto. I am grateful for their assistance and their patience. It goes without saying that the information on sing- and olehe- constructions found in grammatical treatises has been used, including the research report on the functions of the suffix -e and of sing in the Javanese sentence presented to the Gadjah Mada University by Mrs Siti Sundari in 1976.

2. In order to be able to clarify the role played by sing- and olehe- constructions in relation to the topic - comment distinction, it is necessary first to furnish some factual information about (1) the syntactic function words themselves and their equivalents, (2) the internal composition of sing- and olehe- groups, and (3) the valency of these groups, that is their possibilities to take part in larger constructions.

As to their internal structure, there is an important difference between sing, kang and their krama-counterpart ingkang on the one hand, and olehe, enggone and their krama-counterpart anggenipun on the other hand. This difference results from the opposition between the latter three function words and the function words with a pronominal suffix of the first and second person (olehku, olehmu etc.). It is this opposition which makes olehe / enggone / anggenipun into polymorphemic words, while sing / kang / ingkang are monomorphemic.

Apart from this difference, there are striking similarities syntactically. Sing and olehe and their equivalents including their krama-counterparts and the abbreviated forms lehe, le, gone, and genipun have in common that they are always the first member of a word group. By themselves they cannot function as the phatic component of a sentence. As they cannot be combined with a preceding word, they never occupy a final position in a sentence.

Both sing and olehe (and their equivalents) regularly combine with (1) adjectives and adjectival phrases, (2) verbs and verbal phrases, and (3) demonstrative pronouns of the mengkene- and mrene- series, and pronominal phrases with these pronouns. There is an important common constraint: they cannot combine with the so-called irrealis-forms, that is the modal forms with either the suffix -a, -ana, or -akna or with imperatives with suffix -en. I will return to this remarkable constraint later on in this paper.

Between sing and olehe and the following adjective, verb, or pronoun, no other words can intervene except auxiliaries, including negations or combinations of them, while in those cases in which the preceding sentence or phrase provides a sufficiently clear context, the adjective, verb, or pronoun may be omitted with only the auxiliary being retained (e.g. *Martini ora bisa mbukak brangkas, olehe bisa sawise dikandhani wadine muter kuncine Martini was not able to open the safe, she could do so (only) after she was told the secret of the turning of the keys*).

Although largely similar, the combinability of sing and olehe with following words is not quite identical. There are two differences: sing and its equivalents regularly combine with numerals, while its krama-counterpart ingkang combines with a limited number of nouns which are either titles (ingkang bupati) and with the krama-inggil kin words of the nuclear family (ingkang eyang). However, it should be stressed that ingkang in such groups plays a quite different role than sing with an adjective, verb, pronoun or numeral. Therefore

one may say, that apart from these few special cases, following nouns cannot combine either with sing or olehe, again a common characteristic which asks for an explanation.

As to the valency of the sing- and olehe-groups themselves, here again there are striking similarities.

First of all these groups may become part of larger word groups as they combine with preceding nouns:

- (1) Wangsulan mau dudu wangsulan kang diarep-arep dening Padiyem.
That answer was not the answer which Padiyem had wished.
- (2) Sunarto, Prapti lan Mariam kang ora ngerti babar pisan perkara mesin
Sunarto, Prapti, and Mariam who did not know anything about
motor padha melu-melu ngrubung Indra anggone ndandani mesin.
cars, all surrounded Indra while he repaired the engine.

with following demonstrative pronouns of the iki-series (sing lunga iku, olehe lunga iku) and with words such as mau and kabeh (e.g. sing lunga iku kabeh mau *all those aforementioned people who went away*, olehe lunga iku mau *that aforementioned going away of him*). However, there appears to be an important difference in frequency of use. Groups of nouns with following olehe-groups seem to be rare in proportion to the very common combinations of nouns with following sing-groups. Also this difference asks for an explanation.

In the second place sing- and olehe-groups may form the phatic component of a sentence segment:

- (3) Amat / sing dipangan / sega.
Amat, what he had eaten, (was) rice
- (4) Mariam / anggone nangis / isih durung mendha.
Mariam, her weeping had not yet become less

Sentences such as these which consist of three segments, are common and occur in a great variety.

Finally sing- and olehe-groups may form the phatic component of a sentence. This is only possible in two special cases, characterised by an exclamatory intonation and by severe constraints as to the composition of the word group:

(1) only sing and olehe themselves, but neither their respective equivalents kang and enggone nor their krama-counterparts can participate in them; (2) only adjectives, but not verbs or pronouns can form the second member of the group. The sing + adjective case is well known. In Javanese grammars it is usually called the modal imperative. It may occur with imperative verb forms (tulisen sing becik *write it well*) and also with olehe-groups (sing seru lehmū nyebul *blow hard*), but it also may occur all by itself without any additional words: sing rikāt *do it quickly!*

The second case, in which groups consisting of olehe + adjective form the phatic component of the sentence, is not mentioned in grammars, although it occurs quite often, especially in informal speech. Examples are:

- (5) Supini nglirik Nany, teka le modheren!
Supini glanced at Nany, how modern she looked!
- (6) Hem, olehmu enggak!
H'm, how arrogant you are!

- (7) Kok le mantep lan kenceng!
How determined and serious he is!

- (8) Wadhuh kok olehe ampuh tenan!
O my, what strong powers he has!

Given the emotional exclamatory value of this construction, it is not surprising that one often, but not always, finds it preceded by interjections or in combination with emotional-affective words like kok and teka. Adjectives belonging to the elative category are often used in the construction (le apík *how very beautiful!*, le cilík *how very small!*), instead of the common adjective.

3. Segmented sentences of which the first segment contains an olehe- or sing-group are very common:

- (9) Anggenipun ngupados pawitan arta / angel.
To find initial capital in cash is difficult.

This sentence consists of two segments separated by a potential pause before angel. At this segmental border the demonstrative pronoun punika *that*, may be (and often is) inserted, which then exerts a kind of summarising and separating function: *to find initial capital, that is difficult*. The first segment is the topic of the sentence. It contains the information which the speaker assumes to be known to the hearer, while the final segment consisting of angel together with its intonation contour is comment, containing the information concerning the topic expected by the speaker to be new to the hearer.

This sentence with anggenipun contrasts with the following bisegmental sentence without anggenipun:

- (10) Ngupados pawitan arta / angel.
To find initial capital in cash is difficult.

The difference between (9) and (10) is that in (9) a relation is established with a person or persons either mentioned in a previous sentence or given in the speech situation, while in (10) no such relation is present.

The construction with sing, although fully comparable with the olehe-constructions of (9), is not quite identical with it as to this outside relationship. In the following sentence which belongs to the same bisegmental type:

- (11) Ingkang ngupados pawitan arta / rekaos.
Those who try to find initial capital in cash experience difficulties.

no outside relation is established the way it is in (9), but one might nevertheless say that the ingkang-segment presupposes a kind of selection from a wider group of people just like buku sing kandel *the thick book(s)* presupposes a selection from a larger set of books, contrasting with buku kandel *thick book(s)*, in which no such selection is presupposed. Apart from this, there is a semantic difference between (9) and (11), which correlates with the appropriateness of angel in (9) and of rekaos in (11). In (9) a statement is made about the action of finding initial capital, while in (11) a statement is made about certain people who are said to perform this action.

Next to the bisegmental sentence type in which the topic precedes the comment there is an equally common sentence type in Javanese which is characterised by the presence of two topics, a primary and a secondary one.

Examples of this sentence type are:

- (12) Tiyang dagang / anggenipun ngupados pawitan arta / angel.
for merchants it is difficult to find initial cash capital
- (13) Wong tuwane Slamet iku / panguripane / adol iwak segara.
the parents of Slamet, they make their living by selling seafish
- (14) Buku olah-olah punika / ingkang sade / Bale Pustaka
cookbooks, Bale Pustaka has (them) for sale

All these sentences consist of three segments with potential pauses between them. The final one is the comment, while the first segment indicates the primary or main topic of the sentence, as the speaker wants to say something about merchants in (12), about the parents of Slamet in (13), and about cookbooks in (14). That this is really so becomes clear by inspection of wider multisentential contexts, such as:

- (15) Dewi Rukmawati anggone ana ing pratapan gunung Titisari ora
Dewi Rukmawati was not yet a long time in the hermitage on the
lawas, banjur antuk sasmitaning Hyang kang mahawisesa.
Titisari-mountain, when she got a sign from the Almighty.
- (16) Suwe lehku mikir, nanging ora oleh wangsulan sing maton,
For a long time I pondered, but I did not get a reliable answer,
malah mung mundhak bingung.
I even became only more confused.

In (15) it is necessary for the correct interpretation of the final part of the sentence that Dewi Rukmawati is taken as the agens of antuk, while in (16) the speaker is to be taken as the agens of oleh wangsulan as well as of mundhak bingung. This is in accordance with the general principle of topic-preservation which operates in Javanese texts, as the language does not possess the anaphoric mechanism which is present in other languages and which fulfils a similar function of cohesion.

In a more narrow sense, however, the second segments of (12), (13) and (14) are also topics. It is about them and not about the first segment that the final segment, the comment, provides new information. The first and the second segments have in common that they both contain information that is presented by the speaker as known to himself and to the hearer. All segments which have as their phatic component an olehe- or sing-construction contain known information. The only exception to this general rule is formed by the special constructions of olehe and sing with an adjective mentioned above. For them the opposite is true. They contain always new information, and this is why these and only these olehe- and sing-groups may function as the sole phatic component of a sentence.

If one compares (12) with (9), one observes that the difference between the two sentences resides in the fact that in (12) a relation is established not with something outside the sentence as in (9), but with something within the sentence itself, that is with the primary topic. The nature of the relationship between primary and secondary topic can only be defined in a very broad sense. It appears from the inspection of a large number of sentences that no more can be said than that the relation is one of specification. The secondary topic indicates the specific aspect or the specific part of that which is indicated by the primary topic about which new information is to be provided

by the comment. If it is characteristic for this sentence type that two entities (things, persons, German: *Sachverhalte*) are brought into a relation of further specification, then one may expect that the phatic components of these topics are nouns or nominal groups. In general Javanese syntax seems to have a marked preference for nominal and nominalised expression. This implies a frequent use of segmented sentences with plural topics loosely related to each other, and with one single comment, in which much is left to the interpretation of the hearer. This also implies that the language must have at its disposal the means to convert verbs and verbal phrases into nouns or nominal groups: the functions of *sing* and *olehe* are in the first place to be understood from this point of view.

In addition, it may now perhaps also be understood why verb forms with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-akna* and imperatives, and in general all forms with a general and unspecified modal value (adjectives or pronouns with *-a*) do not combine with *sing* and *olehe*. These syntactic function words are devices for creating nouns or nominal phrases to be used in segments which provide solid, shared cognitive ground on which the ensuing new information of the comment is to be attached. Forms which possess a value of uncertainty are not likely to function in such groups.

As the sentences (12) - (14) show, the relation between the first and the second segment is not expressed by the same means: in (2) it is expressed by *anggenipun*, in (13) by the suffix *-(n)e*, while it remains implicit in (14). To a certain extent there is complementary contribution, which makes it possible to consider *sing*- and *olehe*-constructions as part of one syntactic mechanism. The construction with *sing* is only used for making either the agents or the patients of the verb or verbal phrases into a noun or nominal phrase to serve as a secondary (or primary) topic, while *olehe* serves the purpose of making the verb or verbal phrase itself into a noun or nominal phrase. The procédé with the suffix *-(n)e* is largely restricted to nouns and adjectives. However, the complementary distribution is not complete. There are competing constructions as the following sentences show:

(17) *Sepure / olehe mangkat / jam pira ?*

(17a) *Sepure / mangkate / jam pira ?*

Both sentences may be translated as: *the train, its departure is at what hour?* There is no clear semantic difference between the two sentences. The construction of (17a) which is only possible with active verbs without a suffix, is probably the more modern one of the two. In general there seems to be a tendency to expand the use of the suffix *-(n)e*. In substandard speech of the 'forties one could already find forms such as *kecepenge his arrest, his being apprehended*, but they remain very unusual.

There are also two semantically very similar constructions with an adjective:

(18) *Simin / olehe lara / wis pitung dina.*

(18a) *Simin / larane / wis pitung dina.*

which may be both translated as: *Simin has been ill for seven days*. However, there is no reason to assume that (18a) represents a more recent type than (18). I am inclined to suppose that rather the converse is true.

4. In 3. some common types of segmented sentences have been briefly discussed in order to show the role played by sing- and olehe-groups in them, when they are the phatic component either of a primary topic or of a secondary one. This permitted the conclusion that sing and olehe can be seen as two complementary devices for topicalisation. It also appeared that at the same time they ought to be viewed as devices for nominalisation. In this section more has to be said about this nominalising function as there are many non-segmented sentences in which sing- and olehe-groups may occur having no other function than to make nouns or nominal phrases mostly out of verbs and verbal phrases and of adjectives and adjectival phrases as the following examples show:

- (19) Ibune mbanjurake olehe ngendika.
Mother went on speaking.
- (20) Yen wis tekan wektune anggonmu janji, kowe ya kudu mulih.
When the moment has come that you have reached the end of your life, (then) you have indeed to go.
- (21) Bareng Suryatinah eling saka anggone semaput mau, awake
When Suryatinah regained consciousness from her faint, her body
wis teles klebes.
was soaking wet.
- (22) Tulisane ora ketara dening ndhredhege olehe nyekeli pilpen.
His writing was not clear because of the shaking of his hand which held the fountain-pen.
(lit. because of the shaking of his holding the fountain-pen)
- (23) Bab olehmu seneng lungan bengi iku, aku wis ora perlu awèh pitutur.
About the fact that you like to go out in the evening, about that I do not have to warn you any more.
- (24) Sing dikarepake bu Sidin ora liya supaya sedulure uga bisa
What mother Sidin wanted was nothing else than that for her
ditukokake omah.
brothers also a house could be bought.
- (25) Sirahe sing nunggang remuk.
The head of the driver was smashed.
- (26) Tumrap sing durung mengku kulawarga prakara iku durung
For those who have not yet a family, this question has not
dadi pikiran.
become a matter of thought.

In some cases the relationship normally established by anggone is no longer present:

- (27) Saupama aku iki olehe golek cadhongan bisa gampang,
Suppose that I could easily find my daily portion,
mesthi wae aku ora susah nyambut gawe.
then I would certainly not have to take the trouble of working.

- (28) Saking sengsemku anggone nyawang kasulistyaning kenya sing lagi
Because of my being fascinated by the sight of the beauty of that
 adus mau, nganti aku lali, yen aku lagi lungguh ana ing watu
girl who was bathing, I had even forgotten that I was sitting on
 kang dhuwur.
a high rock.

It is even possible that proper names and nouns are combined with such nominalised phrases. There are two possible positions for them: either immediately after the function word or after the entire nominalised phrase:

- (29) Anggenipun Sudarsa nimbangi pantun, margi angsal welingan saking juragan kathah.
 (29a) Anggenipun nimbangi pantun Sudarsa, margi etc...
That Sudarsa was weighing rice was because he got orders from many customers.

There does not exist any semantic difference between those two constructions which are only found in postwar texts. Both contain one single topic and in this respect they are different from the segmented sentence with double topic, which was and still is the more common one:

- (30) Sudarsa / anggenipun nimbangi pantun / margi etc...

If, however, olehe- or sing-groups are combined with preceding nouns, they again fulfil the specialisation-function which they also have in the sentences with double topics as sentence (2) shows. Other similar examples are:

- (31) Pangandikane bapak Gde Okaputra anggone mituturi aku isih
What father Gde Okaputra had said to me when he warned me, was still
 cumengkling ana kupingku.
ringing in my ears.
 (32) Sawijining wartawan ... Semaput ... bareng nyumurupi kepriye
A journalist fainted when he saw what
 polahe para dhokter anggone cekat-ceket nandangi operasi mripat mau.
the physicians did while quickly performing that eye-operation.
 (33) Ibune, wis pira lawase anakmu anggone lunga ?
Mother, how long is it that your son left?
 (lit. how long is the time of your son's leaving)

5. The constructions with sing and olehe discussed in the preceding sections are by no means the only ones found in present-day Javanese. Because of the strong influence of Indonesian syntax, itself influenced by Dutch, sing / kang / ingkang has gone a long way to becoming a relative pronoun comparable to Indonesian yang and Dutch die, while olehe / anggone / anggenipun has become more and more a pure nominalisation device. In general Javanese syntax seems

to move away from its previous preference for segmented sentences filled with nominal or nominalised phatic material. I cannot do more here than present some recent constructions:

- (34) Saka tanah Jawa menyang negara Landa, ngliwati pelabuhan
From Java to Holland, how many big ports one passes,
 kang gedhe-gedhe pira, aku ora apal, sing aku isih kelingan iya iku ...
I do not know by heart, those which I still remember are ...
- (35) Mung sabab sing aku ora cocog anane wanita dadi lid guminterad ...
Only the reason that I do not approve that women become members
of the city-council ...

Constructions with a noun or transposed noun with suffix -(n)e immediately after sing are even more common:

- (36) Kancaku sapasinaon kang wong tuwane asli saka Jawa,
My schoolmates whose parents came from Java,
 olehe basa mlipis banget.
spoke very fine krama.
- (37) - mesthi sugih kuwanuhan lan pasaduluran, mbokmenawa malah ana
 - *certainly (he had) plenty of acquaintances and relations, perhaps*
 kang becike ngungkuli sedulure dhewe.
even who were closer than his own brothers.
- (38) Durung mukmin sapa wonga kang tresnane mring sasama durung bisa
Not yet a true believer is he whose love for his fellow men cannot
 madhani nggone tresna marang dhiri pribadhi, iku dhawuhe nabi kita.
yet equal his love for himself, that is what our prophet says.

In such relative clauses with sing, olehe is often found immediately after sing:

- (39) ... sepisan, yaiku kang anggone dadi botoh jalaran kanggo nuruti
... in the first place, namely those who have become gamblers
 hawanapsu kasrakahane.
because of their giving in to their passion of greed.
- (40) Neng paprangan prajurit sing le maju tanpa duga kira,
On the battlefield, soldiers who attack without prudence,
 mesthi nemu kacilakan.
certainly will meet with defeat.

However, if the group with olehe within the sing-clause is complex, one generally prefers to have the order reversed, with the olehe-group taking final place within the clause:

- (41) Ora ming wonga sing rekasa olehe golek pangan wae sing bingung.
Not only all those who have trouble finding (their daily) food
(are the ones) who are in disarray.

6. The material discussed in the preceding sections allows the following four conclusions to be drawn:

(1) The syntactic procédé's of topicalisation, nominalisation and segmentation – still quite insufficiently known – are indispensable for arriving at an understanding of the role played by the syntactic function words *sing* and *olehe* and their equivalents.

(2) The *sing*- and *olehe*-constructions have so much in common that they should be described in close connection with each other.

(3) For a full description of the *sing*- and *olehe*-constructions it is necessary to take into account the rapid changes in syntactic structure that have taken place since about 1940 probably under the direct influence of Indonesian and the indirect influence of Dutch.

(4) Our present limited understanding of *sing*- and *olehe*-constructions proves the fruitfulness of our approach to syntax in which preferential rules are admitted.

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THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF VERBAL PREFIXES IN BAHASA INDONESIA

Marit Kana

BACKGROUND

The *meN-* and *di-* prefixed verbs in Bahasa Indonesia have traditionally been analysed in terms of voice. MacDonald 1976:49-50 is one who holds such a view:

The prefix *meN-* forms verbs, which may be either transitive or intransitive ... The characteristic of verbs of this type is that they emphasize the actor rather than the action or the object ... The *di-* form emphasizes the action or the object of the action rather than the actor.

Later he adds (p.146):

In the singly transitive sentence, the object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the passive sentence. The subject of the active sentence becomes the agent of the passive sentence. The active verb loses its prefix *meN-*, and this is replaced by the prefix *di-*.

As an illustrative example of this active/passive pair, he gives (p.146):

- (1) *Dia mem-beli buku itu.*
he buy book that
He bought the book.
- (2) *Buku itu di-beli oleh dia.*
book that buy by him
The book was bought by him.

More recent studies have shown there may be more than voice indicated by these prefixes – at least for certain dialects of Bahasa Indonesia (from now on referred to as BI).¹

Steve Wallace has analysed the verbal prefixes of one dialect of Bahasa Indonesia – Jakarta Malay. He gives conclusive evidence that the traditional analysis of these prefixes as indicating voice categories only is insufficient, and that categories of aspect and mode are involved, in addition to voice. The

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basic formal dichotomy in Jakarta Malay is between verbs prenasalised with η - and those without the nasal (either no prefix or di-, depending upon the person of the agent) - corresponding with BI meN- and di- or \emptyset , respectively. The nasal forms carry meanings of actor-focus, generic activity, imperfective aspect and non-indicative mode. The non-nasal forms, in contrast, indicate notions of goal-focus, specific act, perfective aspect, and indicative mode. He summarises all these related notions under the terms *abstract* for the η - forms and *concrete* for the non-nasal forms.

He illustrates these two categories with the following examples (p.13), in which the unprefixed form exhibits "realizable execution", while the prefixed form "unrealized intention":

- (3) gue mau ajak bapa?
 I going to invite father
 I'm going to invite Father (to play chess).
- (4) gue mau najak diε ni maləm
 I going to invite her this night
 I was going to invite her (out for a date) tonight.

At the end of his paper Wallace suggests that a similar analysis may hold for standard BI. But, he cautions, "an analysis of one variety cannot be applied in every particular to another variety".

Paul Hopper (1977) has taken a different viewpoint in analysing verbal affixation in 19th century Classical Malay. Preferring to look at verbs in terms of their function in discourse, he found that:

in Malay narrative language, kinetically new events which are highly relevant to the story line are marked by suffixing the particle lah to the verb. In such sentences, the verb generally appears in the initial position. This initial verb is without the prefix meng-, which, when attached to lexically specified verbs, denotes "active voice" (actually a neutral distribution of information over the sentence). *If the verb is transitive and is in the key narrative function, it is invariably in some form of the passive* (1977a:17).
 (emphasis my own - M.A.K.)

The following passage (1977a:17) illustrates this foregrounding function of -lah verbs:

- (5) Kemudian KELIHATAN-LAH babi hutan tiga ekor di-tepi pantai.
 Then were seen three wild pigs on the edge of the shore.
- Maka TURUN-LAH orang sekochi PERGI MENGAMBIL ayer.
 And the crewmen disembarked and went to fetch water.
- Maka apabila MASOK-LAH ka-dalam hutan, maka BERTEMU-
 And when they entered the forest, they ran
- LAH dengan Jakun. Maka apabila ia MELIHAT orang DATANG,
 into a Jakun. And when he saw the men coming,
- maka LARI-LAH ia masuk hutan...
 he ran off into the forest...

The verbs with -lah indicate those events which are foregrounded — that is, they move the narrative forward. The other verbs serve to provide background information to the highlighted verbs.

The purpose of this paper² is to examine the use of meN- and di- verbs in Modern Standard Bahasa Indonesia written narrative, in order to discover which analysis — the traditional analysis in terms of voice, one which includes voice, aspect or mode, a pragmatic, discourse-oriented one, none of these, or a combination of them — best accounts for the data. I have drawn my material from two novels, both written in the second half of the 20th century.³ Below I examine the three main possibilities in turn.

THE VERBAL PREFIXES AS INDICATORS OF VOICE

Hopper describes voice as "the encoding in syntax and verbal morphology of the marked sentence topic". As a general rule, in BI di- verbs have object as topic, while meN- verbs have unmarked topic or subject as topic. There are several constructions in BI which constrain the selection of either the subject or the object as topic. For instance, relative clauses are introduced with yang *which, that*, which must be the topic of the relative clause. When yang is the subject of the verb, it takes the meN- prefix; when yang is the object of the verb, the verb must have di-. Thus, in the sentences below, the verbal prefixes must be as they are:

- (6) 'Kasih saya beras dua liter', kata-nya pada anak Baba Tan
give me rice two litre say he to child Baba Tan
 yang MEN-JAGA warung. (Lubis, p.9)
who guard stall
'Give me two litres of rice', he said to the child of Baba Tan
who was guarding the food stall.
- (7) Di tangan kanan-nya se-buah tongkat dari dahan nangka
in hand right his a stick from branch jackfruit
 yang baru DI-PATAH -KAN. (Lubis, p.8)
that just break off
In his right hand was a stick from a jackfruit branch which he
had just broken off.

The frequent usage of di- verbs in constructions such as (7) above could well be one of the reasons that di- verbs have frequently been considered to be stative verbs.⁴ As relative clauses generally function to describe rather than to narrate, they do carry a notion of stativity in many cases. However, as we will see later, this is not the only function of di- verbs.

Another syntactic construction which dictates the choice of the object as topic is when the subject of a verb is either unknown, indefinite ('someone, something', etc.), self-evident from the context, or when the author/speaker wishes not to mention the subject (as is often the case with a first person subject). In such cases the verb must occur with di-, as meN- cannot be used without a subject. This is not peculiar to BI. In fact, Labov and Weiner (1977) state that underlying sentences with non-specific subjects are the chief source of agentless passives in English.

- (8) Di Bekasi dia DI-TAHAN. DI-TURUN -KAN dari kereta api.
in Bekasi he arrest get off from train
 DI-BAWA ke markas se-buah laskar. Di sana barang dagang-
bring to post a army. there goods trade
 nya DI-PERIKSA. (Lubis, p.71)
his examine
In Bekasi he was arrested. He was taken off the train,
brought to an army post, and there his goods were searched.
- (9) Se-orang yang harus DI-KASIHAN-I, dan karena itu
a person who should pity and because of that
 harus DI-SAYANG-I dan DI-LINDUNG-I. (Lubis, p.86)
should love and protect
A person who should be pitied, and because of that, should
be loved and protected.
- (10) Hati -nya amat marah. DI-TAMBAH pula dengan rasa men-
heart his very angry add also with feeling
 dongkol dalam hati -nya sejak pagi, karena kopi -nya
annoy in heart his since morning because coffee his
 kurang gula. (Lubis, p.19)
lack sugar
He was very angry. Added to an annoyed feeling inside him
since morning, because there was no sugar for his coffee.

Sentence (8) above is an example in which the author prefers not to mention the subject of the various actions, as the context makes it clear that it is the Japanese soldiers being talked about. The subject of (9) is indefinite: *someone* should pity, love and protect him. In (10) there is no real subject — indeed, one would be hard-pressed to come up with a corresponding active at all.

Jespersen (1965:168) mentions two other frequent uses of the passive: "the passive turn [voice] is preferred if one takes naturally a greater interest in the passive than in the active subject" and "the passive turn may facilitate the connexion of one sentence with another". He gives the following as examples of these two usages in English:

- (11) The house was struck by lightning.
 (12) He rose to speak and was listened to with enthusiasm by the great crowd present.

Certainly the interest element, as in (11) above, is present in some BI uses of the passive. However, this does not explain sentences such as (13) and (14) below in which the active object is not even fronted, yet the verb has di-. The interest, apparently, is more on the verb (or the activity for which it stands) rather than on either the subject or the object.

- (13) Guru Isa minta korek api dan di depan pen-jaga sekolah
teacher Isa ask for match and in front guard school
 itu DI-BAKAR-NYA surat Hazil. (Lubis, p.72)
that burn he letter Hazil
Isa asked for a match and in front of the school guard he
burnt Hazil's letter.

- (14) DI-HAPUS-NYA dengan tangan-nya peluh yang ber-titik-titik
 wipe he with hand his sweat that drip
 berat di kening dan pelipis-nya. (Lubis, p.44)
 heavy on eyebrow and eyelid his
 With his hand he wiped the sweat which was dripping
 heavily on his eyebrows and eyelids.

A desire to "facilitate the connexion of one sentence or clause with another" may be a stronger reason for using the passive in BI. Same-subject sequences such as the following, in which all verbs after the first are in the passive, are extremely common:

- (15) Ayah datang MENY-(S)ORONG ember tempat 'panen'.
 father come push bucket place harvest
 DI-AMBIL-NYA batang kayu dari tangan Teguh, lalu ikan itu
 take he pole wood from hand Teguh, then fish that
 DI-ANGKAT-NYA tinggi-tinggi dan DI-TUNJUK-KAN ke-pada
 raise he high and show he
 ibu -ku. (Dini, p.32)
 mother my
 Father came and pushed the 'harvest' bucket aside. He
 took the wooden pole from Teguh, raised the fish high,
 and showed it to my mother.

Although meN- verbs could be used in the example above, di- is more felicitous, perhaps because it allows a reduction of the given information *he* from a full pronoun *dia* or *ia* to a suffix *-nya* after the verb.

To sum up this section briefly, the syntactic category of voice is involved in the selection of meN- and di- verb forms. The author/speaker chooses meN- when he wants to give no special consideration to any of the noun phrase constituents. Selection of di- verbs, on the other hand, makes the object or action the sentence topic. In some constructions the choice of one verb form over another is an automatic one, as in examples (6) to (10) above. In other cases, either verb form is possible. The author/writer's selection may, in those cases, be guided more by semantic considerations of aspect and mode. We will look at those next.

THE VERBAL PREFIXES AS INDICATORS OF ASPECT AND MODE

The primary aspectual dichotomy in language occurs between perfective and imperfective. Comrie (1976:16) distinguishes these in the following way: "perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation". The imperfective can be further subdivided into categories such as habitual, continuous, non-progressive and progressive.

In BI the di- verbs are more likely to be given a perfective interpretation than their corresponding meN- verbs, which are more aspectually neutral (and, as it turns out, more neutral in nearly every way). As such they are similar to the non-nasal and nasal prefixes, respectively, in Jakarta Malay.

The aspectual nature of these prefixes becomes evident upon examination of their co-occurrence with certain aspectual words. For example, in the 40 examples of the progressive aspect marker *sedang* in the process of which occur in the two novels, it occurs with *di-* only four times,⁵ and three of those are in relative clauses, where the grammar constrains the selection of *di-* over *meN-*. The only odd one, (16) below, has an indefinite subject.

- (16) Tidak jauh dari sana, ber-bagai benih bayam dan
 not far from there various seed k.o. spinach and
 tanam-an lain SEDANG DI-SIAPKAN. (Dini, p.60)
 plant other in process prepare
 Not far from there, various seeds of spinach and other
 plants were being readied.

There are 21 examples of *sedang* with *ber-* or unaffixed verbs. The remaining 15 examples of *sedang* occur with *meN-*. Three are in relative clauses. The remaining 12 are exemplified by the following:

- (17) Ketika dia SEDANG MEM-BUKA baju -nya di kamar,
 when he in process open clothes his in room
 Fatimah masuk ke kamar tidur dari dapur ... (Lubis, p.78)
 Fatima enter to room sleep from kitchen
 As he was taking off his clothes in the bedroom, Fatimah
 entered from the kitchen ...
- (18) Guru Isa SEDANG MEM-BACA koran di warung di
 teacher Isa in process read newspaper in stall in
 Gang Jaksa. (Lubis, p.104)
 alley Jaksa
 Isa was reading a newspaper in a stall on Jaksa Street.

The stative aspect marker *masih* *still* is usually used with adjectives or stative verbs, such as *terasa* and *kelihatan*, or the existential *ada*. However, it does occur with finite verbs as well – 6 times in my data with *meN-* and only once with *di-*. These figures indicate that both *meN-* and *di-* verbs tend to be dynamic, rather than static, verb forms. Examples occur below.

- (19) Sedangkan rambut-ku waktu itu MASIH DI-POTONG pendek,
 whereas hair my time that still cut short
 mudah di-sikat untuk mem-bersih-kan-nya. (Dini, p.43)
 easy brush for clean it
 As at that time my hair was still cut short, it was easy
 to brush and keep clean.
- (20) Guru Isa MASIH ME-LIHAT terus pada-nya. (Lubis, p.111)
 teacher Isa still look continuous at him
 Isa was still looking at him.

Though the small number of examples makes it difficult to draw any conclusions as to a *di-/meN-* difference here, I would point out the unusual use of the verb *potong* in sentence (19) above. Here it is used in a stative sense, in contrast to its usual dynamic, active meaning – thus allowing the *masih+di-* combination. *melihat* in (20), on the other hand, does not need any special interpretation to render it a continuous meaning: *still looking at*.

Another clue to the aspectual nature of these verbal prefixes is found in their occurrence with reduplicated verbs. "Reduplication of a verb root usually adds a connotation of variety, multiplicity or randomness" (MacDonald 1976:35) — an imperfective notion associated with iterativeness. Sixty-nine examples of *meN-* + *V-V* are found in just one of the novels studied, while only 17 examples of *di-* + *V-V* are found in the two novels together. Four of these examples are in the expressions *tidak disangka-sangka unexpectedly* and *dibikin-bikin far-fetched*, which have no *meN-* equivalents. Six others are found in relative clauses, where the grammar prevails to require *di-* verb forms. Two have indefinite subjects, leaving only six in which the author had a true choice between the two verb forms. The following examples show both *meN-* and *di-* with duplicated verb stems. Both are imperfectives, though this is not the usual meaning for *di-* verbs, which, in this case, 'need' the reduplication to make them imperfective. The *meN-* verbs, on the other hand, do not require a reduplicated verb stem for an imperfective interpretation.

- (21) Tubuh lemah, dan rasa hendak muntah MEM-(P)ERAS-MERAS
body weak and feeling want vomit squeeze

perut -nya. (Lubis, p.113)
stomach his
His body was weak and nausea was squeezing his stomach.

- (22) Surat itu DI-REMAS-REMAS-NYA, kemudian dia ber-diri,
letter that squeeze he later he stand
 pergi mem-(p)anggil pen-jaga sekolah. (Lubis, p.72)
go call guard school
He crunched up the letter, then stood up and went to call the school guard.

The perfective nature of *di-* verbs is perhaps best seen when they are used in sequence:

- (23) Selesai makan, rantang DI-ATUR dan DI-KEMAS-I.
finish eat food carrier arrange and pack

Sisa-sisa nasi DI-JADI-KAN satu. Wadah yang kosong DI-
leftovers rice make one bowl that empty

BAWA Heratih ke pancur-an untuk se-keder DI-BILAS-I,
bring Heratih to tap for just rinse

agar tidak ada sisa nasi kering yang akhir-
so that not there is leftover rice dry which in end

nya me-lekat dan sukar DI-BERSIH-KAN. Bungkus-an
stick and difficult clean bundle

makan-an seperti lempur dan lain-lain-nya DI-MASUK-KAN
food like k.o. rice and others put in

ke dalam rantang yang kosong... (Dini, p.47)
to inside food container that empty
When they were finished eating, the rantang was stacked and filled. The leftover rice was put together. The empty bowl was brought by Heratih to the tap to be rinsed off, so that there would be no dry rice sticking to it and hard to get off. The food bundles, such as lempur, etc., were put into the empty rantang.

Each event signalled by a di- verb form is perfective — viewed as a whole without internal structure. As is usual with sequences of perfectives, each action is viewed as completed before the next begins. Sequences of meN- verbs, on the other hand, would not necessarily receive that interpretation and could be interpreted as simultaneous or partially overlapping events.

I have made two other observations in regard to aspect and the BI verbal prefixes. The first is that only the meN- forms are used as non-finite verbs.⁶ Di- forms, on the other hand, are always finite. Examples of the non-finite meN-, such as the following sentence, are common:

- (24) Pem-bantu kami men-(t)olong MENG-ANGKAT-KAN bakul ke
helper our help lift basket to
 punggung, sedangkan si pen-jual itu meng-ikat-kan ujung
back while seller that tie end
 selendang-nya di dada. (Dini, p.13)
shawl her on chest
Our servant helped lift the basket to her back, while
the vendor tied the ends of her shawl around her chest.

The other observation concerns the use of these prefixes with the completive markers sudah and telah *already*. In my data sudah was used much less frequently than telah but more frequently in direct quotations. It generally occurred with an adjective or the existential verb ada. Occurrences with either di- or meN- forms are rare. Verb phrases with sudah thus have the meaning *X state/situation already existed*. Telah was used more than twice as often as sudah and generally with a meN- or di- prefixed verb. Such verbs are complete, perfective verbs; combined with telah they mean *X action already happened*. Significantly, di- forms outnumber meN- forms in constructions with telah, thus indicating their tendency towards a perfective interpretation. The sentences below illustrate verb phrases with sudah and telah:

- (25) Sampai di tempat kakek, hari SUDAH gelap. (Dini, p.58)
arrive at place grandfather day already dark
It was already dark when we arrived at Grandfather's.
- (26) Se-buah meja panjang TELAH DI-ATUR penuh piring
a table long already arrange full plate
 dan kobok-an. (Dini, p.66)
and finger bowl
A long table was already set with plates and finger bowls.
- (27) Ayah TELAH MEM-BERI pe-tunjuk ke-pada saudara-
father already give instruction to brothers and
 saudara-ku. (Dini, p.38)
sisters my
Father had already given instructions to my brothers and sisters.

I have found little in my data to correspond with the modal-like properties which Wallace found in Jakarta Malay verbal prefixes — that is, the contrast between actual, accomplished, factual, certain action and intended, potential, attempted, tentative, doubtful action. The following pairs of sentences show no such semantic difference; in each case the verbs represent real, accomplished events.

- (28) Dua orang serdadu yang ter-baring di tanah di depan
two person soldier who lie on ground in front
 bioskop dengan segera DI-ANGKUT ke dalam mobil ambulans.
theatre with hurry carry to inside ambulance
 (Lubis, p.97)
Two soldiers who were lying on the ground in front of the movie theatre were quickly put into the ambulance.
- (29) Tidak lama kemudian mobil Palang Merah Indonesia tiba,
not long later auto cross red arrive
 dan MENG-ANGKUT orang-orang yang luka, dan anak yang
and carry people who wound and child who
 tewas itu. (Lubis, p.11)
killed that
Not long afterwards an Indonesian Red Cross truck came and picked up the wounded people and the dead child.
- (30) DI-HAPUS-NYA dengan tangan-nya peluh yang ber-titik-titik
wipe him with hand his sweat that drip
 berat di kening dan pelipis-nya. (Lubis, p.44)
heavy on eyebrow and eyelid his
With his hand he wiped the sweat which was dripping heavily on his eyebrows and eyelids.
- (31) Tukang beca yang sedang meng-hirup kopi -nya
worker k.o. cart that in process sip coffee his
 yang panas, MENG-HAPUS mulut-nya dengan lengan kiri-nya
which hot wipe mouth his with sleeve left his
 yang hitam dan kotor, dan ber-kata... (Lubis, p.8)
which black and dirty and say
The beca driver who was sipping his hot coffee wiped his mouth with his left sleeve, which was black and filthy, and said...

Notions of mode in modern BI rely on sentential syntax more than verb morphology. The modal auxiliaries such as *hendak*, *ingin* and *mau* *want*, *desire* and *bisa*, dapat *be able*, *can*, may be the result of influences from Western languages which Jakarta Malay, being an in-group language, presumably did not undergo to the same degree as the trade language did. Interestingly, the *can* modals show no preference for *di-* or *meN-*, while the *want*, *desire* ones show strong preference for *meN-*:

- (32) Manusia Indonesia sebagai gerombolan DAPAT DI-JAJAH
people Indonesia as group can colonise
 oleh Belanda lebih dari 350 tahun. (Lubis, p.37)
by Netherlands more than year
The Indonesian people as a group could be colonised by the Netherlands for more than 350 years.
- (33) Gerombolan pun hanya dapat ber-gerak karena ada
group even only can move because there are
 individu-individu yang DAPAT MENG-ANGKAT diri mereka di
individuals who can raise self their

atas gerombolan-gerombolan itu. (Lubis, p.37)
above groups those
A group can only move because there are individuals who can
raise themselves above the groups

- (34) Sebentar ter-lintas dalam kepala Guru Isa HENDAK
not long enter inside head teacher want

MEM-(P)ELUK isteri-nya. (Lubis, p.30)
embrace wife his
Suddenly the desire to embrace his wife flashed through
Guru Isa's mind.

- (35) Dia tidak INGIN MENG-UNGSI. (Lubis, p.79)
he not want evacuate
He did not want to evacuate.

Thus, there is obviously some element of modality in the verbal prefixes, but only in combination with syntax. More needs to be researched along this line.

THE VERBAL PREFIXES AS INDICATORS OF FOREGROUNDING AND BACKGROUNDING

This phenomenon is related to the notion of aspect discussed in the previous section, as there is a uniform tendency in language for perfective aspect to be used in the foreground of a narrative and for imperfective aspect to be used in the background of a narrative (Hopper 1977a:23). On the sentence level, the use of *meN-* verbs to background information is evidenced in example (17) above, where *While he was taking off his clothes* (*sedang membuka*) sets the stage for Fatimah's entrance into the bedroom. But on the discourse level it is difficult to find any clear indicators of backgrounding and foregrounding.

The present-day usage of the clitic *-lah* is as a perfective aspect marker, but it is not used as an indicator of foregrounded information — unlike Classical Malay. Hence, it may be used in imperatives and in disambiguating verbs which have two possible interpretations, perfective and imperfective. For example, *duduklah dia* could only mean *he sat down*, while *dia duduk* or *duduk dia* could mean either *he sat down* or *he was sitting*.

In an attempt to discover the modern equivalent(s) of *-lah* for foregrounding events, I had two of the selections in Hopper's articles rendered into modern BI. The verbs of the modern rendition are placed alongside the original verbs in Chart 1.

Several points are noteworthy here. First of all, the use of the clitic *-lah* is greatly reduced in modern BI from a total of 16 to four. When it is used it is clearly not a foregrounding device, although its meaning is not clear. It appears to mark a verb when all the information in the sentence is new: "*Datanglah sebuah perahu Siam*" (*A Siamese ship arrived*); "*Datanglah seorang Melayu*" (*A Malay arrived*). Second, the number of passives is decreased in the modern rendering, from 15 to 12, though this decrease is not significant. This would help to confirm Hopper's estimation that, whereas Classical Malay had up to 70-80 per cent passives, modern BI has only 15-30 per cent. Finally, there is no single verb form which is used in place of the *-lah* construction to mark foregrounded information. Sometimes the *-lah* is simply omitted (*tersenyum*), sometimes the verb takes on a *ber-* (*berlari*), once it is replaced with the *ke-* — an 'adversative' passive (*keheranan*), and at times the verb stem is replaced completely (*meninggal*). A *di-* verb is never used to replace a *-lah* verb in these passages.

Thus, if all languages possess some grammatical means of indicating certain parts of a discourse to be more prominent than others (though I'm not sure anyone has proposed this as a universal), and if in BI verb morphology clearly does not have this function, then that leaves sentential syntax as the means of signalling foregrounding in BI narrative. Just what those syntactic cues are, however, I cannot yet say.

Selection A		Selection B	
Original	Modern BI	Original	Modern BI
berkata-kata	bercakap-cakap	duduk	tinggal
membalas	dibalasnya	turunlah	turunlah
datanglah	datanglah	sampai	-
membawa	membawa	disuruhkannya	disuruhnya
disangkanya	-	belayar	berlayar
membeli	-	dilayarkannyalah	berlayar
dibawanya	dibawanya	disuruhnya	diperintahkannya
berdiri	berdiri	tinggallah	tinggal
mendapatlah (bau)	mencium	adalah datang	datanglah
ditutupnya	menutup	lalu	lewat
larilah	berlari	ditembaknya	ditembaknya
hairanlah	keheranan	dibalas	dibalas
melihatkan	melihat	matilah	meninggal
diketahui	mengetahui	berperanglah	berperang
mencium	mencium	masuk	terbenam
dipanggilnya	dipanggilnya	turunlah	datang
menjaga	menjaga	berlayarlah	berlayar
bawa	membawa	pergi	perginya
diunjokkannya	ditunjuknya	kelihatan	tampak
disuruhnya	disuruhnya		
memberi perintah	diperintahkannya		
beri bawa	boleh membawa		
membawa	membawa		
ketahui	kuketahui		
tahu makan	tahu makan		
turunlah	turunlah		
mencium	mencium		
tersenyumlah	tersenyum		
mendengar	mendengar		
disukai	disukai		
ada	-		
dibencikannya	dibencinya		
membawa	membawa		
dihalaukan	menyuruhnya pergi		

Chart 1

CONCLUSIONS

a. A multifactor approach to verbal affixes. To answer the question posed at the beginning as to the meaning of the verbal prefixes in modern BI, we would have to say, "all of them, but some more than others". It is clear that some sort of multifactor meaning must be attached to these prefixes. It is not sufficient to say that BI verbal prefixes indicate voice. At least the notion of aspect is also carried by these prefixes, as has been demonstrated in this paper.

The speaker/writer of a language must have certain means of doing things with his language. He must have a way of making certain items sentence topic, he must have some way of distinguishing different kinds of action, he must have some device for highlighting certain parts of a narrative, etc. Formerly, linguists have often looked for different forms, each of which would handle one of these different functions. But it is clear from this study that, for BI at least, and no doubt for many other languages, the 'world' is not divided up in this way and several functions are bundled together in a single form. I would also suggest that, as I have shown to be true in BI, these different functions handled by a single form do not all carry the same weight. Also, a single function, such as progressive aspect or backgrounding, may be borne by more than one form.

b. The direction of language change in Bahasa Indonesia. It appears that the language is moving in the direction of carrying less information in the verb, and more in the sentential syntax. This would account for the development of auxiliaries to handle modalities and the loss of the pun -lah construction to mark foregrounded information in narratives.

c. The ways in which different dialects of a single language may vary. There are clearly different categories signalled by the verbal prefixes in the Jakartan and the standard variants of Bahasa Indonesia. Part of this may be due to the different type of data used in the studies (Wallace based his analysis on taped conversations), but it is not known how much, if at all, this difference skews the results.

NOTES

1. For purposes of this paper, I am considering the Jakartan variety of Bahasa Indonesia (generally referred to as Jakarta Malay), the standard form of the language, as well as the mid-nineteenth century version from which both Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia descended, as dialects of a single language. This is a more loose use of the term 'dialect' than usual.
2. My thanks to Ken Gregerson for his stimulating ideas and to Danielo Ajamiseba, Martha Reimer and Linda Jones for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

3. The literature upon which this analysis is based included the following:
Nh. Dini, *Sebuah lorong di kotaku*; Mochtar Lubis, *Jalan tak ada ujung*.
4. For example, Chung (1976) says, "The canonical passive [with di-] has the meaning of a typical passive: it is semantically stative".
5. In the data used for this paper, meN- prefixed verbs outnumber di- prefixed verbs by approximately four to one.
6. The evidence for their being non-finite is that they cannot occur with temporal or aspectual markers such as *telah*, *sedang*, etc.

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THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE-TYPE FEATURES AS REVEALED IN MALAY

Natalia F. Alieva

1. General linguistics still has but a poor knowledge of the grammatical structures of the Austronesian (AN) languages. 'Malay'¹ (in the broad sense) has undoubtedly been the most widely used and fully described among the AN languages. It is useful to see to what degree Malay can be treated as a typical representative of the AN family.

2.1 Linguists of the past have made a great number of really positive and astute discoveries of theoretical value. Their work is still useful for us in spite of its shortcomings from the modern point of view. It is true that in exotic languages they were often seeking structures, forms and categories familiar to Europeans (finite and non-finite, person, mood and tense forms of verbs, number and case of nouns etc.). In our times we can to some degree give new judgements about which of their conclusions are correct and correspond to the facts in AN languages, and which are not.

On the other hand, these former writers have pointed out to us which phenomena of those known to European linguistics are absent in exotic languages. This information, negative as it is, has now attained its positive value.

Possessing all this previously collected knowledge plus modern linguistic approaches and methods, it has become possible to begin, step by step, to penetrate into and formulate the specific features of the AN languages.

2.2 There is another happy circumstance promoting comparative linguistic work in the AN linguistic sphere nowadays – the possibility of wide mutual contact and exchange between scholars of different countries and different spheres of interest. The ICAL conferences give brilliant evidence of this fact.

Now, as the countries of AN stock mostly have their own national states, possibilities exist for uniting different branches of AN linguistics. This was one of the essential purposes of the 1981 TICAL conference, as clearly outlined in the conference documents.

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3. To penetrate from the general linguistic point of view into the specific character of such an exotic language family as Austronesian is by itself an extremely complicated task. If we try to reveal this character limiting ourselves to the material of only one language—even a well-described one and even with the help of the modern scientific approach to language as a system—still in most cases we are destined to failure. Such could be the case since the conceptions and notions of Western linguistics would exercise too strong an influence on many a researcher. The danger lies in the fact that these conceptions and notions on the one hand are very elaborate and on the other hand are most ordinary and seemingly plain and natural.

Therefore the systematic approach to a single language should be optionally combined with the analysis of corresponding phenomena in different cognate languages.

I would like to produce one example to illustrate the point. In Indonesian the verbal suffixes *-kan* and *-i* among their other functions play the role of a morphological means of differentiated expressing of verb-noun object relations. The fact could hardly ever be revealed and explained from the data of the Indonesian language itself. I found myself able to formulate this peculiarity of Indonesian only after I had studied the specific verbal system of Tagalog, with its multiple passive forms and the peculiar rules of their selection (see below, 4.3).

4.1 After these preliminary remarks we can return to the subject of the paper. It is not my intention to discuss once more the already well-known features of AN languages relevant to structural typology in general. My intention is only to put forward those features relevant to grammatical structure which I have investigated myself, these being for a long time the object of my interest.²

It is necessary to define what is meant here by the structural features of the AN type. I don't see any way of determining them better than saying that these are the features which are common to AN languages but cannot be considered universal properties of any language.

4.2 One of the most general peculiarities of the AN type, explaining many others, is the specific character of interconnection between lexical and grammatical levels in general. I would dare to say that the absence of a clear-cut borderline between the lexical and grammatical spheres in an AN language is a quality of principle and not accidental separate phenomena which are encountered in many languages.

In the Malay language the said character of interconnection of levels can be seen in the following:

(a) The Malay root-morphemes act not only as stems of derived words but, quite usually, as plain words by themselves; therefore one and the same material unit belongs to the morphological and lexical levels.³

(b) The main means of word-derivation—affixation and reduplication—are used on both levels. One and the same affix in one case fulfills a derivative function, in another case a grammatical function, in the third case the two functions altogether, syncretically: the difference depends upon the class of the root-morpheme. Three corresponding examples: *batu + meN > membatu*; *taruh + meN > menaruh*; *potret + meN > memotret*. To a greater or lesser degree

this syncretism is to be seen in all verbal affixes (only verbs have formal grammatical categories, i.e. of voice and transitivity), in Malay as well as in other Western Austronesian languages. A grammatical verbal form here is generated in one act of affixation, and not in a many-graded process such as in agglutinative languages of Altaic stock (Turkish, Mongolian). In the latter a verbal (or noun, or adjective) word-base is generated first by adding certain derivative suffixes to a root and then different suffixes conveying grammatical meanings are added to produce a complete word-form. This makes the essential difference between the Indonesian and Altaic types of agglutination.⁴

We must admit that, in describing AN languages, a tradition spontaneously has emerged and has been maintained, which correctly reflects the said objectivistic peculiarity of word-derivation: in the manuals and grammars of different AN languages all means of word-derivation are described in a separate part of a book beyond connection with grammar proper, each model of many-morphemed words (or each affix or each way of reduplication) being described with its various 'meanings'.

(c) The proximity of lexical and grammatical levels specific to AN-type can be also seen in the character of grammatical categories. Several grammatical meanings (number, tense, aspect, voice, case, degrees of comparison) are expressed by mixed, either morphological or lexical means. One Malay example: to express reciprocity of action morphological (tudu-menudu, bertudu-tuduhan) or lexical (saling menudu) means can be used.

(d) Word-compounding as a way of producing new lexical units is very productive in certain AN languages with a high degree of analytism (Malay, Javanese, Acehnese, Cham, Polynesian). It cannot be considered as a particular AN feature, since many other analytical languages have it as well. But here, in Malay for instance, the word-compounding is present in the form, which makes it difficult again to distinguish between grammatical and lexical phenomena: such units as *besi berani*, *ilmu bumi*, *ibu kota*, being facts of lexics, are at the same time in their structure usual syntactical (i.e. grammatical) formations (word groups).

I think that this peculiarity of word-compounding allows us to distinguish between two categories of compound (containing two or three root-morphemes) lexical units. The first category includes such compound words (composed words, composites) which are formally identical with free syntactical word groups, but have lost their freedom: they are not produced for a concrete speech sentence, with arbitrary selecting synonyms, but are reproduced as lexical units with given components and meaning, already existing in the language (for example, in the meaning of *geography* we must use *ilmu bumi* and not *ilmu tanah* or *ilmu benua*, in the meaning of *parents* we may not use *manusia tua* or *orang berumur panjang* instead of *orang tua*). Some of these units are idiomatic, but it is not an obligatory criterion: many of them are quite transparent semantically; there are a lot of terms among them.

The second category, compound words proper, includes three groups of bi-componential lexical units: (a) asyntactical (*bumi putera*); (b) with at least one bound morpheme (*swapraja*, *mahasiswa*); (c) affixed (*ketidakadilan*, *menandatangani*).

Presumably there is some other evidence as to the proximity of lexical and grammatical levels in the AN language, but what is outlined above, I hope, will make the idea sufficiently clear.

4.3 In the AN languages (especially in Western AN) the morphology, in so far as it exists, has developed mainly in the verbal sphere. And in this sphere, the meanings which are rendered by affixation are mostly those connected with verb-noun relations: case meanings, after Fillmore, subject (=doer) and object (=goal) relations of the verb, in my terminology. The voice category must be admitted to be the nuclear grammatical category of the verb which reflects subject-object relations. With the voice category the problem of transitivity, of rendering action-object relations, is connected. To express object relations affixes, morphological means of realisation, are also used. And there are at least two types of morphology serving these relations in the AN languages.

In the first type of which the Malay language is representative the verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive (on the base of capacity to produce di-forms). The category of transitivity in Malay includes two opposite meanings; causative-transitive and applicative-transitive, with the possibility of neutralisation. The first meaning is usually expressed by the verbal suffix -kan, the second one by the suffix -i, so the opposition of the contentive object relations corresponds to the opposition of formal suffixed markers. The voice relations are expressed by such verbal prefixes as meN, di-, ber-, ter-. Therefore we see in Malay two sets of markers: prefixes for voice and suffixes for transitivity. Such languages as modern and old Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Madurese, Bugis and Makassar can be classified with Malay in this respect.

This type stands in contrast to the other represented by the Tagalog (and other Philippine) and Malagasy languages. This second type is characterised by use of passive-voice forms (which are usually more than one and sometimes, as in Tagalog, amount to six) for differentiating the object relations of verbs. It means that a passive voice formative is selected according to the object relation which is to be expressed in the given sentence. Transitivity is not expressed by a special affix neither in an active nor in a passive construction, and the whole problem of verbal transitivity is to be decided here in quite a different (i.e. negative) way.⁵

4.4 The last AN type feature which I wish to mention here is the use of possessive-type constructions in the sphere of subject-object relations. This problem is naturally connected with the above-mentioned voice category, more precisely with the particular ways of building voice constructions and their evolution.

This peculiarity can be formulated as the important role of a special syntactical type — possessive — in the AN languages. The term 'syntactical type' is used in the context of 'the syntactical typology' which is based on ways of expressing subject-object relations in a sentence, taking into account the nominal, and verbal, and pronominal morphology, as well as their semantics and functioning.

In speaking of a language of possessive syntactical type the notion 'possessive structure' acquires a new dimension. A nominal word group with possessive meaning (a qualified noun plus a possessive pronoun or a substantive attribute) is also given a new dimension: besides expressing the fact that an object belongs to its owner, such a word group expresses also that an action belongs to its doer (agent). The doer of an action is expressed by a possessive attribute, in the same way as the subject of possession. The nucleus of the relevant word combination is a word with verbal meaning (either a word with

formatives of verbal categories, or a root-word without any formatives). As a result, the interrelation between the verb category and the noun category is entirely peculiar, while possessive pronouns are used on a larger scale so as to include the functions of indirect agential forms of personal pronouns. The formally uniform syntactical structure is divided from a semantic point of view into variants: (1) the object (substance) possessive structure and (2) the process possessive structure. If the process possessive structure forms the predicate group, then this must be regarded as an indication of the possessive syntactical type of the language in its most clear-cut form.

Malay has such a way of forming passive sentences in which the agent is indicated by the third person pronominal enclitic -nya or by a noun complement, which are in no way different from possessive attributes; examples are:

Buku ini sudah dibaca { nya
anak. Compare: buku { nya
anak

In modern Malay there are different prepositions introduced in transforms of the above sentences:

dibaca oleh { nya
anak, buku daripada { nya
 anak

As a result, there is only a vague propinquity remaining between an agential complement and a possessive attribute, and it would be impossible to reveal its roots on the basis of the Malay material taken by itself. It can only be facilitated by the general theoretical concept of the possessive type and examples from such languages as Tagalog (cf. Section 3). In Tagalog the unity of object and process variants of the possessive structure has a graphic character.

In modern standardised forms of Malay - Indonesian and Malaysian - which have developed to acquire the features of a nominative language, possessive structures have become infrequent and are mostly used in the sphere of nominalisation. Nevertheless, the Austronesian character of Malay is sufficiently evident in these phenomena.

5. Concluding this survey of the AN-type features in Malay, we may indicate that the AN features are to be found in the synthetic-morphological sphere of the language. Therefore the Malay language can be considered to be a typical representative of the AN structure type only to a definite degree – in so far as it has synthetic morphology. But Malay has lost many of the AN synthetic forms and developed instead of them new, analytic constructions. The analytism in general cannot be attributed to the AN structure-type. It is a product of evolution, and that was an evolution in contact with different languages.

Among contemporary AN languages there are some which are highly analytical; but the analytical systems, for example, of a Polynesian language and of the Cham language are of quite different character.

The analytical structures of Malay should be investigated specially. For instance, such a characteristic analytic feature of modern Indonesian and Malaysian as the differentiated use of prepositions to express non-local relations is usually attributed to European influence, but I should call to mind also the strong Arabic influence in this sphere, while the prepositional functioning of verbs (as *melawan*, *melalui*) is evidently an areal feature.

Being now to a degree acquainted with languages of Indo-China such as Cham, Vietnamese, Khmer. I must agree with many linguists who have pointed out precisely this direction for the research of typological and genealogical proximity.

The languages of Indo-China, belonging to different genealogical stocks, were from ancient times involved in contacts and mutual exchange. Especially it is true of such languages as Vietnamese, Khmer, Cham, Jaray, some Thai idioms. Alongside the existing hypothesis of genealogical kinship (as Austric, Austro-Thai) a question may be put about their convergent evolution in a kind of a language-union (*Sprachbund*) such as the Balkan union. It seems to me that there should be and already can be summed up a set of features at all levels which are common to a number of languages and therefore make a linguist think about a specific analytical language type in this area.⁶

The following are some features of analytism in Malay which make it similar to the languages of Indo-China and which, I think, have not previously been listed together.

- (a) the use of lexical units for grammatical purposes;
- (b) the significant weight of word-compounding in generating new lexical units;
- (c) the proximity of adjectives to verbs (not to nouns) in the system of word-classes;
- (d) the syntactical model of O-S-V order as an equivalent for passive construction.

NOTES

1. From the purely linguistic point of view it is convenient to use the term 'Malay' as embracing: the old Malay language ('classic'), different Malay dialects of past and present, modern Indonesian and Malaysian standard languages.
2. This paper summarises my work on Indonesian grammar and typology. The work is present in detailed form, with relevant bibliography, in the following publications: Alieva 1970, 1975, 1978 and 1980.
3. More than that, the Malay root-morphemes on the basis of their distributive and reduplicative abilities are being divided into grammatical classes which are similar but do not coincide with the word-classes. Such root-morpheme classification has been carried out by A. Hassan in his 1974 monograph, also in our collective *Grammar of the Indonesian language* (Alieva et al 1972), and in my 1975 monograph. But such division of morphemes into classes cannot be considered to be an AN-type feature.
4. I would insist on this, especially in view of Wolff's approach distinguishing only two phenomena: derivation and inflection.

5. Semantically the case categories in both types have much similarity which is analysed in Wolff (1981). From this analysis follows that several non-case, aspectual meanings are explicitly expressed in the active verb in a language of Tagalog type, while in the Malay-type morphology the passive markers (as *ter-*, *ke-an*) specially express them.
6. I have merely touched upon the problem of the Indo-Chinese language-union, in the paper presented to TICAL; while this paper was in press, I have tried to realise my intention, and have written a short article on the Cham language in connection with a language-union in this area — with possibly a full bibliography on the problem (Alieva 1982).

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ON THE SYNTAX OF yang IN INDONESIAN

John W.M. Verhaar, S.J.

INTRODUCTION

The particle *yang* in Indonesian (and older Malay) has, in the past, been duly treated by grammarians, but it does not look as if *yang* has been discussed much within a framework that has notable relevance across languages, or even fits more naturally into a more holistic view of Indonesian (and Malay) syntax. What has been noted about *yang* has been mainly two characteristics: first, that it may link an attribute to a noun, notably 'adjectival' (as distinct from 'nominal') attributes; second, that one of these attributes is the relative clause. In dealing with the latter construction, grammarians have often dubbed *yang* a 'relative pronoun'. I will not now review earlier treatments of *yang* (Kaswanti 1981 has a brief survey), for those treatments have, on the whole, not focussed on the larger syntactic issues I am addressing myself to in the present paper. But most of those earlier descriptions have been sound enough, especially in that they affirmed the basic 'sameness' of *yang*, no matter whether it relativises or not, even though that 'sameness' has been largely implicit in those descriptions. On the other hand, the description of *yang* as a 'relative pronoun' has not, on the whole, been one of principle in regard to the 'pronominal' character of *yang*, and this name has been given to *yang* perhaps rather thoughtlessly. One recent example of such thoughtlessness appears in my own paper on alienable and inalienable possession in Indonesian (Verhaar 1978). In any event, in the present paper I will argue, among other things, that *yang* is not pronominal.

More particularly, I want to go into that 'sameness' I mentioned: *yang* linking any (non-nominal) attribute to a head noun (as well as a few nominal ones). Also, I shall discuss the use of *yang* without a head, as well as the 'definitising' character of *yang* in that use, and in some other syntactic constructions. Then I will discuss *yang* as only one particular kind of 'ligature', different from those which are genuine (relative) pronouns. Next I will consider what conditions must be fulfilled for *yang* to relativise a noun; those conditions will be shown to be of three kinds, all of them involving some particular kind of 'co-referentiality' with the head. I will then briefly develop the nature of those co-referentiality conditions as rather close to

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those obtaining for participial attributes, in languages that have them. Finally, I will raise some questions about non-restrictiveness of certain types of yang clauses.

Most of these discussions concern relative clauses. But first I propose to go into the basic 'sameness' of relativising and non-relativising yang. This I will do in the following section.

HIERARCHICAL 'SAMENESS' OF yang AS A 'LIGATURE'

What all uses of yang have in common is that this particle 'welds' a 'head' and an attribute together, except, of course, for 'headless' yang, which I will discuss in the next section. This 'welding' function of tiny particles of various forms, in linking attributes to nouns, has been known for a long time to linguists as widely occurring in a number of Austronesian languages. The first study (to my knowledge) which has placed the description of such noun phrases in a perspective more widely relevant across languages (with the ambition even to reveal language universals of attributive structure), is a portion (Chapter 2) of Foley's dissertation on Austronesian syntax (Foley 1976; more succinctly restated in Foley 1980). The principal thesis Foley advances is that of what he calls the 'bondedness hierarchy' controlling the use of those particles, which he calls 'ligatures'. Since that thesis checks out almost perfectly for Indonesian (which is not in Foley's sample), I will review Foley's hypothesis here briefly.

As is well known in Philippine studies, many languages in that nation use a variety of 'ligatures' in noun phrases. Here follow some examples from Tagalog, in (1) through (4) (Foley 1980)

- (1) mataba-ng maruno-ng tao
fat LIG wise LIG man
fat, wise man
- (2) marami-ng bata
many LIG child
many children
- (3) kulay ni- iyon
colour LIG that
that colour
- (4) a- ng babae-ng nag-babasa na-ng diyaryo
TP LIG woman LIG AF IMP read P LIG newspaper
the woman reading a newspaper

(LIG = ligature; TP = topic marker; AF = actor focus; IMP = imperfect; P = patient). The ligature here connects a noun with one or more adjectives ((1)), or with a quantifier ((2)), or with a deictic ((3)), or with a relative clause ((4)). The form varies: -ng, -ni, and there are others. Foley distinguishes nominal attributes (which he says are not relevant to his hypothesis; however, I will show that to a certain extent they are), from 'non-nominal' ones, adjectival, therefore, which he calls 'adjuncts'; and he distinguishes seven kinds of such 'adjuncts', which may be seen listed in Figure 1 (numbering of the levels is mine), reflecting also a hierarchy of 'bondedness'.

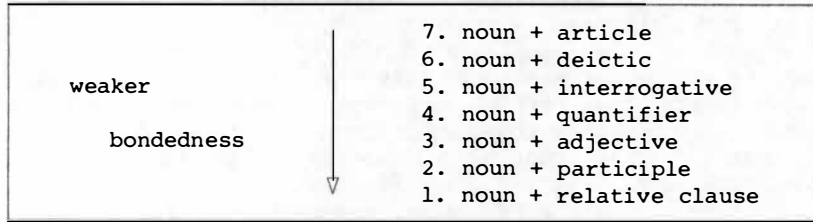


Figure 1: The 'bondedness hierarchy'

The hierarchy is from high (level 7) to low (level 1), and the lower one gets down the hierarchy, the more some syntactic formative device becomes necessary to hold noun and attribute together. Going down the hierarchy, at just which level the ligature becomes necessary depends on each particular language and is a language-specific matter. However, what is valid across language is that, if a ligature is necessary at level Z, such that Z is the highest level, in that language, at which the ligature is used, then it will be necessary also at all levels below Z. Negatively, according to Foley's hypothesis, no language will have a 'gap' level-wise in ligature use below Z; and above Z, no level will employ the ligature. Tagalog is a good example of a language that has a ligature even at level 7. Therefore, all other levels require it.

Foley's sample comprises the following languages: Tagalog, Palauan, Ilocano, Toba Batak, Tolai, Wolio, and Malagasy. Figure 2 maps the use of ligatures in those languages, showing that the bondedness hierarchy is valid at least for them.

	Tag.	Pal.	Ilo.	T.B.	Tol.	Wol.	Mlg.
7. article	X						
6. deictic	X	X					
5. interrogative	X	X	X				
4. quantifier	X	X	X	X			
3. adjective	X	X	X	X	X		
2. participle	-	X	-	-	-		
1. relative clause	X	X	X	X	X	X	

Figure 2: Ligatures in the languages of Foley's sample

The 'gaps' at level 2 are only apparent: none of these languages, except Palauan and Wolio, have participles in their verbal system. Wolio alone lacks the ligature with participle attributes, but there that lack is no gap, since only level 1 has a ligature there. Finally, Malagasy is relevant in that at level 1 it may have a ligature (*izay*), but it appears to be optional, hence it is not ticked off in Figure 2. I will not reproduce Foley's data here, nor, in particular, the forms ligatures may take in the different languages. Those forms are all of the kind that cannot be assigned any 'categorical' status; that

is to say, no specific word class membership can be assigned to them. Also, these ligatures lack 'argument' status: they do not 'fill' any such 'slots' as 'subject', 'object', etc., as arguments to the verb, not even lower level 'slots' like those of attributes. Furthermore, the only sequential rule that holds for these ligatures is that they must be in between noun and attribute, and the sequential order that controls those constituents is therefore irrelevant. The bondedness hierarchy is, in other words, neutral as between left-hand or right-hand position of the attribute in respect to the head noun. (In fact, in Foley's form of Figure 1, the attribute is to the left; I have placed it to the right, for convenience' sake, because that is the order in Indonesian, which language is rigidly VO, also infraclassally.)

Foley does not make much of the 'categorial' status (or, rather, the lack of it), of the ligatures. That issue would be irrelevant for the point he is making, which is supposed to be valid across languages, and which therefore obtains also for those ligatures which *do* have categorial status: for relative pronouns, in languages that have them. In English, for example, at all levels higher than 1, bondedness is enough for the noun phrase to hold together without a ligature of any kind. Foley shows that such bondedness, without any linking device, may be destroyed by right-extrapolation of an attribute, making the phrase ungrammatical, while such an extrapolation is still wellformed when there is such a device. Consider Foley's examples, here numbered (5) and (6)

(5) the book over there near John which was given to me

(6) *the book over there near John given to me

In both examples the attribute (which was) given to me is extraposed, but in (6) extraposition triggers unwellformedness because there is no ligature in this language, at level 2, that of the participle, whereas there is at level 1, that of the relative clause.

Foley's bondedness hierarchy hypothesis is well verified for Indonesian, for the ligature *yang*. At level 7 (on one particular interpretation of that level) it is forbidden; at levels 6 through 3, it is optional; finally, at level 1, it is obligatory. (Level 2 should be ignored, as Indonesian has no participles.) I now propose to substantiate this briefly.

According to traditional analysis, Indonesian has no article. The determiner *itu* *that* is deictic wherever it does not function as a topic marker (a point I cannot discuss here). With *itu*, it would seem that *yang* is optional, as may be seen in (7)

(7) meja (yang) itu
 table *LIG* *that*
 that table

However (as Kaswanti 1982 points out), the deicticity of *itu* is of two kinds: 'endophoric' (utterance-internally; i.e. merely anaphorically); and 'ectophoric' (referring to something utterance-external: 'deictic' in a more widely used sense). It is, on the strength of the examples taken from Foley's sample, straightforward to consider level 2 of his hierarchy as only 'ectophorically' deictic. It matters little whether the 'endophoric' use of *itu* in Indonesian is called an 'article' or not, but, considering several characteristics of articles in languages that have them, that would hardly be an esoteric label. For testing purposes of the bondedness hierarchy for Indonesian let me call the 'endophoric' use of *itu* that of an 'article', of level 7, therefore. Then, consider Kaswanti's examples (8) and (9).

- (8) buku (*yang) itu
 book LIG the
 the (aforementioned) book
- (9) buku (yang) itu
 book LIG that
 that book (over there)

Phrase (8) exemplifies the 'article' use of yang, and it is forbidden. In phrase (9), which represents the (ectophorically) deictic use of yang, it is optional.

Phrases of levels 5 through 3 are found in (10) through (14)

- (10) alat (yang) mana?
 tool LIG which?
 which tool?
- (11) kursi (yang) empat [...]
 chair LIG four
 four chairs
- (12) anak (yang) banyak [...]
 child LIG many
 many children
- (13) rumah (yang) indah
 house LIG beautiful
 beautiful house
- (14) pohon (yang) besar
 tree LIG big
 big tree

At all these levels, yang is optional, although optionality depends on other constraints more generally (on which see below), and on constraints of a quite particular nature for (definite and indefinite) quantifiers. A few words must be said on the quantifier problem first, because more general principles are involved.

I merely recall first a few general principles about quantifiers which are generally known. The first is that of 'floating quantifiers'. In many languages, quantifying constituents, even in NP form, may wellformedly take various positions sequentially (in a language like Japanese they may even become either 'nominal' or 'adverbial' depending upon sequential position) within the entire clause. Also, in languages with a rigid sequential order, 'attributive' quantifiers may (unlike all other attributes) freely either precede or follow the head noun (even when accompanied by numeral classifiers; the classifier then stays with the quantifier). Indonesian is such a language: one may say kursi empat (buah) (*chair four NUM.CL*) *four chairs*, but in this case without a ligature. In Javanese, which also has this permutation possibility, there could be a ligature in the former case: lima-ng kursi *five chairs*; and kursi lima (these expressions are not interchangeable, but their difference does not affect the point being made here). In a number of languages where this permutation is possible, right-hand position makes the entire phrase definite, left-hand position indefinite (Greenberg 1978:284). In Indonesian the construction with yang is possible, but only with that definiteness, on condition definitising itu follows, or some other definitiser (hence the brackets in (11) and (12)), but then, interestingly, yang is obligatory. I call this interesting for a special reason: obligatory yang itself is often definitising (see below).

Kaswanti and Sudaryanto (pers. comm.), who suggested to me some of the data of this section, inform me that phrase (12), *anak yang banyak* may be due to interference from Javanese (*anak sing akeh*; *sing* is one of the ligatures in Javanese), but that *X + yang banyak* *(*itu*) (with *itu*, again, obligatory) has *X* such that *anak* seems not to be a member of it. The examples they give have as members of *X* *kelompok* *group*, *bagian* *part*, *portion*, *tumpukan* *pile*: all of them 'collective' nouns, so *X* might be just that. However, the interest of such data is that Indonesian often 'collapses' a 'group' with any 'member' or 'part' of that group: in *se-genap warga*, for example (*se-* is *one*, *genap* is *whole*, and *warga* is *member*) what is signified is (from a 'translationese' standpoint, to be sure) a mixture of *the whole membership* and *each member*.

Quantifiers raise special problems for the linguist in many languages. Foley 1976 also has problems with them, in direct relevance to his 'bondedness hierarchy' hypothesis. The trouble with quantifiers is that they sometimes seem to behave like nouns, sometimes like non-nominal attributes, and this is important to Foley because his hypothesis is supposed to be valid only for the non-nominal attributes which he calls 'adjuncts', and not for the noun + noun constructions, which, Foley claims, have no ligatures. They do, however, in Indonesian, and I will return to this below.

The complications with quantifiers apart, and ignoring special constraints holding for other levels as well (see below), it appears that at levels 5 through 3 *yang* is optional.

Finally, at level 1, that of the relative clause, *yang* is obligatory; consider (15)

- (15) Orang *(*yang*) datang terlambat tidak boleh masuk
 person LIG come late not may enter
 Those who are late may not enter

where *yang* is indispensable. There are some instances, however, of standing phrases of high phrasal compactness where relativising *yang* may be omitted, as in (16)

- (16) Rumah-nya di-rampas oleh orang tak di-kenal
 house-his PM plunder by person not PM know
 His house was plundered by person(s) unknown

(PM = passive marker), but such phrases are not numerous, though some may be of comparatively high text frequency.

It appears, then, that Indonesian *yang* confirms the bondedness hierarchy hypothesis, but also that the Indonesian data may refine that hypothesis. There is first the deixis distinction discussed above, the possible application of which to the languages of Foley's sample and to other languages is likely to produce new rules. However, probably the single most promising analysis would be that of the 'optionality' of ligatures. For example, does it really make no difference in Malagasy whether or not relativising clauses are introduced by *izay*? My own hunch is that the answer would be negative; I have never yet encountered examples of true 'free variation' except phonemically.

In any event, the optionality problem for Indonesian *yang* is important. To call *yang* 'optional' is not to say that its use or non-use is merely 'free variation'. An exhaustive discussion of this problem would probably be lengthy, and I will here only note a few points which are of some interest.

First of all, some phrases already 'welded' together because of their semantic content, which cannot be explained from mere attribution, cannot have yang. Examples are found in (17) (Fokker 1951:186)

- (17) ilmu pasti (*science certain*) *mathematics*
 sekolah menengah (*school middle*) *High School*
 jalan buntu (*road blocked-up*) *dead end street*
 gunung ber-api (*mountain PREFIX-fire*) *volcano*

Also, yang may emphasise the attribute, either for the sake of contrast or non-contrastively, as in (18) (Fokker 1951:187)

- (18) murid *(yang) bodoh
pupil *LIG* *unintelligent*
unintelligent pupil

or in (19)

- (19) Saya suka rumah *(yang) besar, bukan rumah *(yang) kecil
I like house *LIG* *big* *not* *house* *LIG* *small*
I like a big house, not a small one

but this presupposes that the phrase concerned cannot be 'close' enough without yang, which it sometimes can, e.g. in (20), even though there is an obvious contrast (Sudaryanto, pers. comm.)

- (20) Bukan apel (yang) merah kesukaan-nya, melainkan apel (yang) hijau
not apple *LIG* *red* *liking his* *but* *apple* *LIG* *green*
What he likes is not red apples, but green apples

where yang could easily be dispensed with. Furthermore, yang is obligatory with extraposed attributes, as in (21) and (22) (Fokker 1951:188)

- (21) bini-nya *(yang) bijaksana
wife-his *LIG* *prudent*
his prudent wife
- (22) ibu -nya *(yang) tua
mother his *LIG* *old*
his old mother

(Fokker distinguishes various constructions, which, however, all fit one species, due to extraposition, which he does not mention.) Finally, when the attribute itself is composed, either serially ((23)), or because the adjective has an adverbial coconstituent ((24)), yang is likewise obligatory (Fokker 1951:189):

- (23) anak *(yang) rajin dan pandai
child *LIG* *industrious and intelligent*
industrious and intelligent child
- (24) kalimat *(yang) kurang jelas
sentence *LIG* *less clear*
not-so-clear sentence

and sometimes yang is obligatory because the 'same' phrase without yang already has a specified meaning, as in (24) and (25) (Fokker 1951:189)

- (25) orang *(yang) tua
person *LIG* *old*
old man/woman [*orang tua parents*]

- (26) menteri *(yang) muda
 minister LIG young
 young minister [menteri muda vice-minister]

where the phrases in brackets are of the kind illustrated in (17), above.

It seems necessary to add that, though contrast entails emphasis, emphasis need not necessarily be contrastive. For example in (27)

- (27) hasil *(yang) bagus
 result LIG beautiful
 a terrific result

It is not at all necessary that the result be contrasted with a disappointing result. Emphasis, of course, by its very nature, 'loosens' the 'bondedness' of noun and attribute, since the attribute tends to be, of itself, semantically what it is syntactically: 'subordinated'. For example, in English, as in many other languages, emphasised attributive adjectives are stressed. This will be easier when the head noun has already been mentioned, but when there is a first-time occurrence, in the discourse, of a head noun, the 'main' stress on the emphasised adjective may well be watered down to something like 'even stress'. It is, for example, somewhat difficult to emphasise good in a good car in case car falls out of the blue as a new saliency point in the discourse; and the speaker may well resort to relativisation (a car that is (really) good) for the sake of emphasising the attribute, in effect needing a ligature (that). Consider also attributes to 'heads' that are 'heads' only syntactically but not semantically, as is the case with numeral classifiers. A comfortable pair of shoes will get by, but *a fat head of cattle will not; this is because the paratactic relationship conflicts with the semantic relationship.

I will assume, for the moment, that the use or non-use of yang where it is 'optional' from a purely 'formal' point of view is almost certainly a matter of bondedness also, weak or strong respectively, and therefore perhaps also distinguishable hierarchically. It would be worth while to test this for languages having ligatures of a morphemically free form (as is the case with Indonesian yang); this would entail expanding Foley's sample, most ligatures of which are morphemically bound.

'REPLACIVE' yang

I borrow the term 'replacive' from Downing 1978, where it is used to characterise relative clauses without a 'head'. I apply it, then, to any noun phrase with yang which has no 'head', no matter whether the phrase is a relative clause or belongs to some higher level of the bondedness hierarchy. Since yang is frequently used without a head, it merits some discussion here, but it is doubtful if this use of yang is still that of a 'ligature'. Indeed, we may well be concerned here with something specific for Indonesian, as compared to the languages of Foley's sample, the ligatures in which are morphemically bound and can therefore not stand alone.

It appears that all occurrences with yang at different levels of the bondedness hierarchy may occur without a head, given a suitable context. Consider examples (9) through (15), which illustrate those levels. It would be easy to find contexts where those examples might read: yang itu (i.e. for (9), not for (8)); yang mana?; yang empat [...]; yang banyak [...]; yang indah; yang besar; yang datang terlambat. The context would be such that the head has been mentioned before, or at least is situationally clearly presupposed. Thus,

also in (19), rumah may be left out in its second occurrence on the strength of the first; or in both occurrences on the strength of a previous occurrence. Yang used replacively is invariably obligatory.

It is important to note that replacive yang replaces the noun *fully*, in that replacive yang may even be preceded by a preposition, which it would otherwise never take. This is quite normal at all levels, but with some complications at level 1. Thus, the headless phrases given just now may become prepositional phrases of one form or another: dengan (*with*) yang itu; untuk (*for*) yang mana?; tanpa (*without*) yang empat itu: *with that one; for which one?; without those four (ones); etc.* Replacive yang phrases may occur in all argument positions, except those which are obligatorily pronominal (on which see below).

As noted, for level 1 there are some problems with replacive yang. Consider (28)

- (28) ?Kepada yang tidak mau ikut akan di-sajikan acara lain
 to ?LIG not want follow will PM offer program other
 *To those who do not want to come along some other entertainment
 will be offered*

The yang clause is yang tidak mau ikut. Some speakers would prefer to have a head there, e.g. mereka *they* (or some appropriate noun), and to them Kepada mereka yang tidak mau ikut would be better. Some very careful speakers, however, approve of (28) as it stands. The problem seems to be greater when the head is inanimate, as in (29)

- (29) ??Tentang yang sudah kalian pelajari akan ada ujian
 about ?LIG already you [PL] study will be examination
 About what you have already studied there will be an examination

and many speakers would want to have an appropriate head there, such as bahan *subject matter*, or simply the pronominal antecedent apa *what*, so that the result would be: Tentang bahan/apa yang sudah [...]. However, the doubtful wellformedness of (29) may simply be due to the cacophony of the two /-ang/ clusters in tentang yang; according to Sudaryanto (pers. comm.) headless yang in (29) would be all right if the preposition were not tentang but, for example, mengenai *about, concerning*, because that would avoid the cacophony. This may well be so; another reason might be that mengenai is really a verbal form (from kena (*be*) *hit*, prefixed with men- and with a focus ending -i). However, about relativising headless yang after a verb some more analysis would have to be done.

In (28) and (29), the gloss LIG is preceded by a question mark, as I consider the 'ligature' status in them (as well as in any headless yang phrase) doubtful. One reason for my doubt is that, of course, it is difficult to consider yang as linking an attribute to a noun that is not there; however, it would not be wholly unreasonable to assume that there is a zero noun, which of course would be a real constituent, albeit in zero form, and would not be the same as there being no head at all. More importantly, however, headless yang is invariably 'definitising', even though what is being definitised may be something generic. In contrast, yang with a head need not necessarily be definite, even though it often is. The matter is of some importance, so I want to devote a separate section to it.

Yang AS DEFINITISER

Replacive yang raises some syntactic questions, which may be given some more relevance across languages if confined to relative clauses alone. For example, in English, headless relative clauses are possible only with what, and it does not seem outlandish to recognise in that indefiniteness some diachronic relation with the interrogative origin of that pronoun, but not with which or who, as illustrated in (30) through (32)

(30) What you cannot do will be done by others

(31) *Which you cannot do will be done by others

(32) *Who you cannot phone we will visit

but when 'definiteness' is taken out of the latter two, by adding -ever, the results are wellformed, as in (33) and (34)

(33) Whichever you cannot do I will take care of

(34) Whoever cannot help should let us know

(on condition, of course, that which- is used adjectivally, i.e. with anaphoric deletion of the head). Even what, already pretty much indefinite in (30), is made even more so by adding -ever, as in (35)

(35) Whatever you cannot do will be done by others

Or, alternatively, the head may be 'attracted' into the relative clause itself, with the relative pronoun as its attribute (except with who, which is invariably substantival), as in (36) and (37)

(36) Whatever job you cannot do will be done by others

(37) Whichever job you cannot do will be done by others

and, although 'indefiniteness' in (37) and (33) is restricted in that which-selects from a limited number of jobs, yet within that limited number there is no definiteness of any kind. 'Attractions' like these may also be found in Classical Latin, as in (38) (for which I am indebted to Eceizabarrena, Sophia University)

(38) Quam quisque novit artem, in hac se exercent
 RP *everyone know ART in this self exercise*
Let everyone who knows an art practise it

(I suspect that such 'attractions' are triggered by the OV to VO change that carries the change from prenominal relative clauses to postnominal ones.)

In contrast, replacive yang clauses in Indonesian invariably 'definitise' whatever it is that is modified by the attribute, and indefiniteness will preclude the use of yang. Consider (39)

(39) Yang miskin perlu di-tolong
 ?LIG *poor necessary PM help*
Those who are poor must be helped

In (39), the reference is not to all the poor, but to those who are poor in one particular group that is (contextually) well defined. On the reading that all the poor must be helped (whoever, wherever) (roughly, therefore, equivalent to the reading of English the poor, without a following noun), (39) would be deviant, and instead of yang the collective determiner kaum would have to be used; Kaum miskin [...]. The speaker of (39) has the poor members of one

particular group in mind, and those poor members are identifiable; I have tried to convey that idea of definiteness by the gloss *those who are poor*. According to Kaswanti (pers. comm.) yang in (39) is even contrastive, i.e. in contrast to those (in the group) who are not poor.

Apart from replacive yang, some instances of yang with an antecedent have yang as necessarily definite. This is certainly so with deictics, interrogatives, for obvious semantic reasons (the interrogative, of course, *inquires* after a definite [...]), and with quantifiers (as discussed above). With adjectives, whenever contrastive. But there is a special problem with *lain other*, as pointed out by Kaswanti, in examples (40) and (41) (I have changed the latter slightly)

- (40) Berhubung tempat ini akan di-bersihkan, sebaiknya kita
because place this will PM clean it-is-best we [INCL]
 pindah ke tempat (*yang) lain
transfer to place LIG other
Because this room is going to be cleaned, we had better move
to some other place
- (41) Tempat *(yang) lain itu sudah tidak kosong lagi; padahal
place LIG other that already not empty again nevertheless
 tempat itu tadi masih kosong
place that just-now still empty
That other room is no longer free; but just now it still was

In (40), yang is forbidden because the other place the speaker wants to go to is not definite in his mind; any other place will do, provided it is available for use. In contrast, in (41), yang is obligatory because the speaker is now talking about one particular room. Perhaps there should be a special rule for *lain*, which is idiosyncratic among adjectives in that it may either follow or precede the head noun; or, perhaps, if placed to the left of the noun, it is not an adjective but an indefinite numeral (*other = more*). I will not go into this problem now, for there are still other problems with *lain* which would have to be solved first (and would take me too far afield), notably when to use, or not to use, *-nya* after *lain* in postnominal position. To unravel all this would easily take a whole paper.

One characteristic of yang in Indonesian is that it may connect two nouns, which is what Foley (1976) says a ligature never does. First, a few examples, in (42) and (43)

- (42) orang *(yang) profesor itu
person ?LIG professor that
that man, the professor
- (43) adik- mu *(yang) tentara itu
(younger) brother you ?LIG soldier that
your brother, the soldier

One may occasionally hear the opinion that this use of yang is not 'correct' Indonesian, and that it is an innovation through the influence of the 'article' in languages like Dutch and English. However (as argued in Verhaar 1980 and Kaswanti 1981), the credentials of yang between nouns in older Malay are impeccable, and there seems to be no need to blame interference. But yang here does have something in common with the article in languages like English or Dutch (as well as with other languages having definite articles), i.e. its

'definitising' function (symbolised by *the* in the glosses above), making a unique identification by way of an apposition. This type of yang, given a suitable context, may also be used replacively, in such phrases as *yang profesor itu* and *yang tentara itu*. Here yang not only 'definitises' semantically, but also becomes a 'determiner' syntactically, and thus becomes virtually an attribute. Since that does not seem to be characteristic of yang before a non-nominal attribute (with or without a head) even where it is definitising (which it must be if used replacively), it is doubtful whether yang between nouns can be called a 'ligature' at all; hence, again, a question mark to *LIG* in the gloss.

This is perhaps the place for a short digression on Foley's claim (1976) that 'ligatures' (in his interpretation of that term, which would certainly include Indonesian internominal yang) are tied to the specific relations obtaining between noun plus 'adjunct', and not to those (often non-specific ones) between noun plus noun. Foley's main point here seems to be a semantic one. In his view, the difference between a noun phrase with a non-nominal attribute and one with a nominal attribute is that, while in the former the semantic relation is basically determined by the attribute, in the latter there may be all sorts of semantic relations, not dependent on the attributive noun alone. What Foley refers to is the multiple semantic relations that may hold between the nouns in phrases like *Myron's statue* (i.e. a statue symbolising Myron, or made by Myron, or owned by Myron, etc.) or *John's present* (i.e. a present given by John, or to John, etc.) (Foley 1976:79-80).

What Foley feels he has to explain is that sometimes a phrase of the form noun + ligature + noun seems to be counterevidence to the assumption that noun + 'adjunct' and noun + noun are basically different, among other things in that, supposedly language-universally, noun + noun does not need a ligature of any kind. He adduces evidence from Chinese and Trukese to show that the exceptions to that rule are only apparent; however, that part of his reasoning is hard to evaluate as he gives no data. He discusses also numeral 'adjuncts', which, because of the property of many languages that they have numeral classifiers, may then take the form of (numeral plus) noun (i.e. the classifier) plus noun. I would like to say that, semantically, the numeral classifier noun is not the 'head', even though, in a sense, it might be called that purely syntactically. This is why *a fat head of cattle is not wellformed, as I noted above in a slightly different context. But what is (to me) most interesting is how Foley deals with noun + ligature + noun in Palauan, where, for example, we may observe (44) (Foley 1976:84)

- (44) a ?erm- ek el babi
 ART animal 1SG *LIG* pig
my animal, the pig

having the ligature *el* in between nouns. The issue here is that there is an apposition. I do not know Palauan, but the language is OV, and my bet is that the gloss of (44) is not *my animal, the pig* but *the pig, my animal*: that is to say not *the pig*, but *my animal* is the apposition! The reason for my hunch is that that is the way OV languages deal with 'appositions': the quotes I use here are 'scare quotes', for OV languages do not really have 'appositions', if by 'appositions' be meant paratactic, and not hypotactic, co-constituents to nouns. Consistent OV syntax cannot have any (unambiguously) non-restrictive attributes, a point to which I will return below, in regard to relative clauses. Appositions are (normally) non-restrictive. Thus, in Japanese, in (45)

- (45) tomodachi no Tanaka-san
 friend SM HON
 Mr Tanaka, my friend

has what would be the *head* in the English equivalent such as that appearing in the gloss as an *attribute*, a subordinated (or hypotactic) constituent, therefore (SM = subordination marker; no in possessive constructions marks the possessor, but here, of course, there is no question of a possessive relationship). There is no non-restrictiveness here. English sometimes reverses nouns (i.e. 'head' and 'attribute') in the way comparable to the construction of (45), as in (46)

- (46) a gem of an idea [i.e. 'an idea which is (like) a gem']
 a prince of a fellow [i.e. 'a fellow who is (like) a prince']
 a hell of a problem [i.e. 'a problem which is (like) hell']

(double quotes symbolise paraphrases rather than glosses).

Now, Foley is concerned to have a ?ermek in (44) as an 'adjunct'. His argument is that it has to be (even though it looks like a noun in all respects that matter), since the ligature *el* is used. But that rather begs the question. The argument has become circular. It is not that the 'nominal' character of attributive nouns cannot be in doubt, especially in Indonesian, in which language nouns may be rather 'squishy', as *pemboros* and *pengecut* in (47) and (48) (Fokker 1951:191)

- (47) orang (yang) pemboros
 person LIG *spendthrift*
 (a) *spendthrift*
- (48) laki-laki (yang) pengecut
 male LIG *faint-hearted*
 (a) *faint-hearted man*

are, witness the optionality of *yang*. However, no such interpretation is possible for ?ermek in (44).

Clearly there are still many problems with the language-universal properties of noun + noun phrases. Foley's semantic analysis is probably basically sound. Perhaps, then, both 'definiteness' and the kind of syntax involved (i.e. OV for alleged 'appositions') must be brought to bear to arrive at a better view. For such a view I consider Foley's approach as a substantial beginning.

LIGATURES ACROSS LANGUAGES; yang AS 'CONNECTIVE'

It is time to return to indubitable ligatures. What has been established, among other things, by the verification of Foley's 'bondedness hierarchy' for Indonesian *yang* is the basic 'sameness' of this particle at all levels of the hierarchy at which it occurs, a property which, negatively, entails a lack of word class membership (or 'categorical status') of this particle and its inability to 'fill' a functional 'argument' position within the relative clause itself (lack, that is, of 'argument status'). This, evidently, makes *yang* different from relative pronouns, which, as pronouns, have both categorial and argument status. Since, therefore, *yang* is not a pronoun, let me call *yang* as a relative clause introducer a 'connective' (following Downing 1978). The term 'ligature', then, I maintain as a generic term, comprising pronominal ligatures as well as those of the 'connective' type.

Some of the differences between pronominal ligatures and connective ones are known. More particularly, relative pronouns invariably *introduce* the relative clause (henceforth: RC), and the RC has to be postnominal if so introduced. In contrast, pronominal RC's (which occur typically in OV languages) never have relative pronouns. It is not true, however (despite Downing's statement to the contrary: Downing 1978:394) that pronominal RC's never even have any *connective* either: Palauan, which is OV in structure and has pronominal RC's, links those RC's to the (postsequent) head with the connective *el* or *l*, and this connective is typically positioned at the end of the RC and immediately preceding the head. I have not hunted for other languages having the same structural characteristics of RC's, but there seems to be no reason to assume that Palauan is extraordinary in this regard.

The argument status of relative pronouns (RP's) in a language like English is well known, and I exemplify a few typical cases of its argument distribution in (49) through (54)

- (49) the man WHO came yesterday
- (50) the sales clerk WHOM I saw last week
- (51) the girl (TO) WHOM Charles gave the ring
- (52) the fool THAT he was
- (53) (looking like) a baseball player, WHICH he appeared to be
- (54) the accountant WITH WHOM she went over the records

In (49), *who* is the subject of the RC; in (50), *whom* is the direct object; in (51), *(to) whom* is the indirect object; in (52) that is the 'nominal part of the predicate' (restrictive, in this case); in (53), *which* is the same (but non-restrictively); finally, in (54), *with whom* is an 'adjunct', of the exocentric type, with *whom* as the head within that type.

Now, in contrast, consider the Indonesian phrases in (55) through (59)

- (55) tamu yang datang terlambat
 guest *LIG* *come* *late*
 the guest who was late
- (56) pembantu yang mengerjakan tugas ini
 helper *LIG* *accomplish* *task* *this*
 the employee who does this job
- (57) *orang yang saya mengundang
 person *LIG* *I* *invite*
 the man I am inviting
- (58) *teman kepada yang saya menjelaskan masalah ini
 friend *to* *LIG* *I* *explain* *problem* *this*
 the friend to whom I explained this problem
- (59) *teman yang saya menjelaskan masalah ini kepada-nya
 friend *I* *explain* *problem* *this* *to* *him*
 the friend to whom I explained this problem

First, let me assume (incorrectly, but just for the sake of argument) that *yang* in these phrases has argument status. On that assumption, grammaticalness and ungrammaticalness of (55) through (59) could be explained up to a certain extent. That is to say, *yang* in (55) and (56) would be the 'subject' of the RC; in (57), *yang* would be the 'object' but in prepredicate position, which is invariably

impossible in this language, so that ungrammaticalness would be 'explained'. Phrase (59) would not be wellformed, for yang would be an 'indirect object', which is equally impossible in this language in prepredicate position; and the pronominal copy at the end of the phrase would not restore the balance. The ungrammaticalness of (58), however, could not be 'explained' on similar grounds, for it would be quite possible to consider kepada yang as not necessarily an 'indirect object': it could also be a peripheral constituent in the RC, so that argument status would not come in at all, or at least it would fail to explain why yang could not have a preposition (kepada) with it. (In fact, headless yang can, so why not here?)

However, rejection of the argument status of yang on typological grounds is more convincing. These grounds are well known (especially for Philippine languages), and I may state them here briefly. In this typology, the principal constraint on RC's is that the focus marking on the verb in the RC (let me call this the 'relative verb', or RV) should be such that the head of the RC is the 'target' of that focus. Thus, in (56), mengerjakan is marked for the 'agent' focus (by the 'prenasalisation' men-), and pembantu is that 'agent'. In (55), datang, which happens to be monomorphemic, is unmarked for focus, but the one who comes is still the *guest*. In contrast, the focus marking in (57) through (59), where the RV's have the same prenasalisation as the RV in (56), is 'targeted' on saya, not orang or teman; therefore, these three phrases are not wellformed. This rule of focus marking on the head could, in itself, be expressed by saying that the ligature yang must invariably be the 'subject' of the RC. However, in most languages of the typology under review here, the ligatures under discussion here are not only bound forms morphemically, but the constituents to which they have been 'welded' have, in some instances, not even independent existence as constituents: a good example is Tagalog ang, whose division into a-ng makes sense in that -ng is a recurrent item in various argument positions of nouns having a ligature in that language; but for a- to be separated in that language makes no sense synchronically, since it never occurs independently, or, for that matter, with any other ligature. That Indonesian yang happens to be morphemically free makes no difference to its essential sameness with the ligatures of Tagalog, and of many related languages, in regard to its essentially non-argument character. That in effect rules out the 'explanation' of yang as necessarily the 'subject' of the RC.

This stated, let me now develop a theoretical framework for relativising yang, in a manner that has some relevance across languages, and may be the framework within which a step forward may be made to more knowledge of yang within a view that has reasonable relevance across languages. As I am now dealing with RC's with a head, let me speak about that head, or antecedent, first. Across languages, the head of a RC is known to have various properties. First, the head may be considered according to the place it takes in the clause in which it is an argument, or a peripheral constituent. (That clause may itself be a main clause, or a subclause: it makes no difference for the point being discussed here.) Let me call the head considered from that angle the 'main clause head' (MCH). Second, the head may be considered as part of the noun phrase which consists of head plus RC; considered from that angle, the head is 'proleptic' in regard to the RC, and let me call it the 'proleptic head' (PH). (Of course, I deal here only with an antecedent head, not with heads relativised prenominally; Indonesian has only antecedent heads of RC's.)

About the MCH I may be brief. Any full noun NP, whether nuclear or extra-nuclear in its own clause, may be relativised in Indonesian. Among full pronouns, only those that are preposed Agentives, with no possibility of interposition of

any other constituent between pronominal Agentive and verbal form, preclude relativisation, no matter whether the pronoun is cliticised or not (on this, see Verhaar forthcoming).

For the PH, however, there are a number of characteristics relevant to Indonesian, statable as at least three different forms of 'co-referentiality', which I shall discuss now.

Yang CLAUSES AND CONDITIONS OF CO-REFERENTIALITY

Any RC, first of all, that has a head is tied to that head by some form of 'co-referentiality', in the sense that, in any language, a RC is, as Kuno has phrased it, "a statement about its head noun" (Kuno 1976). Markings of RC's across languages, according to Downing (1978), are mainly of three kinds. The first is that of pronominal ligatures, or RP's. The second is that of a 'connective' ligature, of the type found in a number of Austronesian languages, as discussed above. The third is some special marking on the RV in some languages; the marking is syntactically wholly different from both the relative pronoun and the connective, but it is irrelevant for the matter in hand here. The interested reader may be referred to Downing (1978).

The question now arises how the PH differs according to relativisation introduced by a RP, or by a connective. Let me call the PH relativised by a RP (actually, also by relative adverbs, a point to which I will return), the 'delegating head' (DH). That is, such a DH 'delegates' the argument position it will take within the RC by co-reference to the RP. In other words, the DH is itself neutral as to the position of its 'representative', the RP, in the argument structure in the RC: the DH 'delegates' that position to the RP. Phrases (49) through (54), above, illustrate this: in each of those, the RP who, whom, etc. takes its own argument position in the RC, unrelated to whatever relation the RV might have to the head. Such a relation is not direct, but only *indirect*, through the RP, to which the DH delegates the RC-internal argument position. What is more, the RP may even be a hypotactically aligned part of an argument to the RV, as shown in a phrase like (60)

(60) the sales clerk WHOSE wallet she found on the counter

where whose is not an argument to the RV found, but just an attribute to the object NP (wallet) of the RV. (This 'delegation', therefore, may even be one to a lower hierarchical level.) Since I will be mentioning two other co-referentiality conditions in what follows, giving them names, I might as well label the one discussed here, calling it 'delegating co-referentiality condition' (DCC), but I shall not have occasion to deal with it any more except once or twice rather in passing.

In contrast, the head of a RC marked by a connective (like yang) does not 'delegate' anything to the connective, which cannot have any argument status. Inevitably, then, the co-referentiality is one between the focus of the RV and the head as its 'target'. Let me call this condition the 'focus co-referentiality condition' (FCC). It is the condition discussed in regard to examples (55) through (59) above.

However, not all RC's in Indonesian are characterised by the FCC, and there is yet a third condition. Consider (61) through (70)

(61) Guru ini yang anak-nya meninggal, [...]
teacher this *LIG child-his die*
This teacher, whose child died, [...]

- (62) Pembantu yang sapu- nya hilang [...]
janitor *LIG broom-his disappear*
The janitor whose broom has disappeared [...]
- (63) Saya mau membeli rumah itu, yang atap-nya di-bongkar
I want buy house that *LIG roof-its PM tear-down*
I want to buy that house, (the one) of which the roof has been torn down
- (64) Saya mau membeli rumah itu, yang di-bongkar atap-nya
 [gloss same as in (63)]
- (65) *Guru ini, yang meninggal anak-nya [...]
 [see (61)]
- (66) *Pembantu yang hilang sapu-nya [...]
 [see (62)]
- (67) Teman yang sudah lama saya ingin menjelaskan masalah ini
friend *LIG already long I want explain problem this*
kepada-nya [...]
to him
The friend to whom I have already wanted for a long time to explain this problem [...]
- (68) *Anak yang dua hari yang lalu Ali memukul-nya itu
child *LIG two day* *LIG past* [name] *beat him that/the*
tetangga saya
neighbour I
The boy that Ali beat two days ago is my neighbour
- (69) Anak yang sudah sering kali Ali memukul-nya itu
child *LIG already often time* [name] *beat him that/the*
tetangga saya
neighbour I
The boy that Ali has beaten already so often is my neighbour
- (70) Ini merupakan soal yang sudah lama kita ingin
this be problem *LIG already long we* [INCL] *want*
membicarakan-nya
discuss it
This is a problem that we have already wanted to discuss for a long time

In sentences (61) through (66) may be observed the second form of co-referentiality, which I call the 'possessor's pro-form co-referentiality condition' (PPCC). In contrast, the co-referentiality condition illustrating the third kind is found in (67) through (70), and I label it the 'delayed pro-form co-referentiality condition' (DPCC). Let me now discuss these types briefly.

What makes the PPCC different from the DCU is that in the PPCC the head of the RC is not the focus of RV marking. Instead, in the PPCC-controlled RC, a possessive pro-form *-nya* which is co-referential with the head is at the same time such that the possessee is the (formative!) subject of the RC: *anak* in (61), *sapu* in (62), *atap* in (63), *anak* in (65), and *sapu* in (66). I have skipped (64), in which the RC has no formative subject. The subject, which

normally is preverbal in Indonesian, but which may under certain conditions be postverbal, *must* be preverbal in RC's. It is because the subject is postverbal in (65) and (66) that these sentences are not wellformed; their wellformed sequence is that of (61) and (62) respectively. In other words, in this type of RC, permutation of subject and predicate in the RC is forbidden. Why, then, is such a permutation allowed in (64)? The reason is that, there, the possessee is inalienably possessed by the possessor, i.e. the roof by the house: if the roof is torn down, then the house itself is, at least in part, being torn down. Such 'inalienability' is not found in (61) and (62): the child's death does not entail the father's death, and for the broom to disappear is not the same as for the janitor to disappear. However, the permutation of possessor and possessee in (64) does not cause the subject to move to postverbal position. Instead, the RC in (64) does not have a subject any more than do RC's controlled by the DCC, and the only difference between (64) and (55)-(56) is that (64) has a pro-form, while (55)-(56) do not. In conclusion, it seems that the constraints for the PPCC are that the possessee must be the subject in the RC, in preverbal position, and that that argument may become postverbal (and lose subjecthood in the process) only when the possession relation is inalienable. The permutation is possible on the basis of a similar permutability in main clauses (Verhaar 1978; in that paper I still, naively, accorded to yang argument status, without using that term; indeed the entire issue had not occurred to me then).

The DPCC is mysterious (to me), and deserves more study; I am indebted to Kaswanti for drawing my attention to data which I now try to explain with the DPCC constraint. In (67), the co-referentiality is between the head (*teman*) and the postverbal *-nya*, which is in direct object position. Note how close (67) is to (59), which, nevertheless, is not wellformed! Kaswanti has analysed the difference between those two phrases as follows (Kaswanti 1981). He says that (59) is ungrammatical, basically because the (what I call) FCC has not been met. In contrast, though that condition is not met in (67) either, *that* phrase has a modal verb modifier not found in (59). Kaswanti's example is actually not (67) (of which otherwise he approves; pers. comm.), but (70), which has a similar modal modification to the RV. (In Verhaar 1978 I doubted the well-formedness of (70), misled as I must have been by phrases of the type of (59).) Examples (68) and (69) I also borrow from Kaswanti (1981), and the well-formedness evaluation is his. Note the verbal modification in (68), which is not wellformed, is merely one of time (*dua hari yang lalu*), and not 'modal' as in (70). For whatever my command of Indonesian is worth, I have some difficulty 'feeling' *sudah sering kali* in (69) as 'modal', but the problem may be just the term, and an 'aspectual' interpretation ('iterative') is certainly not far-fetched: Ali has the *habit* of beating the child.

While 'modals' may well be relevant in some such way as Kaswanti suggests in allowing (69) and (70), what seems to me to be subject to no doubt at all is that the (comparative) *length* of the RC must be a highly operative factor in whatever makes the DPCC apply. It is for this reason that I have called this type of co-referentiality the 'delayed' one, since the pronominal copy comes at the very end of the RC, which is what cannot happen if the PPCC applies (except by coincidence, as in (64), because of the inalienability permutation, in a RC which is very short). Perhaps the 'delayed' pro-form, in RC's of greater length, is triggered by a characteristic of *all* yang clauses: that they are wellformed as main clauses simply by cutting off yang. This stamps yang clauses as considerably more 'paratactic' with the head than can be the case in pronominally introduced RC's in languages that have that type of RC's. This is, of course, assuming that there is a whole gamut of intermediate possibilities between

wholly paratactic and wholly hypotactic relationships, a point to which I will return once more below. Such an assumption would rather straightforwardly explain the DPCC in clauses of this type, for then the 'delayed' pro-form would be closer to the kind of pro-form we find in a more loosely knit discourse structure. The RC then becomes rather a sort of 'afterthought'.

PARTICIPIAL ATTRIBUTES AND CO-REFERENTIALITY

I have said that yang clauses are subject to certain co-referentiality constraints, especially that of 'focus' (FCC). It can hardly be a coincidence that a similar co-referentiality constraint seems to hold for participial structures in languages that have participles. Consider (71) through (78), the first three of which are taken from Schwartz (1976:529), and the others from Downing (1978:395):

- (71) The boys [\emptyset throwing stones at the dog] ran away
- (72) *The stones [the boys throwing \emptyset at the dog] hit the car
- (73) *The dog [the boys throwing stones at \emptyset] went mad
- (74) people paying money
- (75) *money people paying
- (76) damage-causing winds
- (77) *wind-causing damage

The point Schwartz makes (in dealing with Ilocano, which has the same characteristics of FCC for RC's as does Tagalog and Indonesian) is that we may observe a similar constraint of co-referentiality in participial attributes in English: (71) is all right because the 'source' of the action expressed in throwing is co-referential with the boys as the head of the entire phrase, while in (72) and (73) there is no such co-referentiality. The point Downing makes is somewhat different from mine, but his data well illustrate the point I am making here.

Apparently, only relativisations of DH's are such that the relativisation can be made on the basis of an entirely independent argument structure of the RC, with the co-referentiality functional load wholly on the pronominal character of the ligature as anaphoric. RC's with RP's are perhaps much more hypotactic in regard to their heads, language-universally, than are RC's with connectives like Indonesian yang, which seems to be more comparable, 'tactically', to participial attributes of the kind illustrated. This is perhaps also the reason why attributes higher on the bondedness hierarchy scale can be co-ordinated with those lower on that scale, in Indonesian, with only a single yang introducing both, as in (78)

- (78) orang yang baik dan bisa dipercaya
 person *LIG* good and can be-trusted
 (a) good and trustworthy person

where baik is an adjective and bisa dipercaya a RC. The gloss given illustrates the co-ordination of the two attributes; another gloss, equally correct as far as glosses go, shows the difference with English, i.e. *a good person (*and) who can be trusted*. The adjective level (level 3 of the hierarchy; see Figure 1, above) is probably the highest that can be combined in co-ordination with level 7, that of a RC, in this language, as appears from the ungrammaticalness of (79)

(79) *orang yang ini dan bisa dipercaya
 this

*orang yang mana dan bisa dipercaya
 which [?]

Language-universally, such comparisons raise tantalising questions: perhaps RC's (at least those introduced by *yang*; on other RC's in this language, see below) in Indonesian, assuming there is a language-universally valid 'average' of the bondedness hierarchy, are closer to some level in between those of adjectives and participles? Or, inversely, Indonesian adjectives like *baik* would, on such an 'average' scale, be closer to (finite) verbs in a language like English, in grammatical organisation?

RELATIVE CLAUSES AND NON-RESTRICTIVENESS

The distinction between 'restrictive' and 'non-restrictive' RC's is well known and needs no explanation here. Let me symbolise these types as RRC and NRRC.

I believe (though I have never heard or seen it stated) that prenominal RC's are necessarily restrictive. I have yet to see counterevidence to this assumption. Indeed, this may almost be expected a priori: a NRRC is like some kind of 'afterthought', and, if one were to have that prenominally, one would have to have it, so to speak, by way of 'forethought'. In any event, there are indications of a syntactic nature. For example, in Japanese, where all RC's are prenominal, the topic marker *wa* cannot normally appear, and the 'subject' marker *ga* must be used instead (if there is a 'subject' in the RC at all): to introduce a new topic in a RC is, of course, to have a NRRC. Another test would be to try to introduce a 'sentence adverb' like *incidentally* into a RC in this language: this appears impossible. Needless to say, even OV languages have ways around such constraints, by way of parenthetical clauses, or certain arrangements of topic chains, or in general in 'afterthought' anacolutha, which surely are possible, at least colloquially, in all languages. In fact, such 'afterthought' structures, and right-extraposed formations more generally, are probably the explanation why some very rigidly OV languages have postnominal RC's (as, for example, in Persian). But such developments trigger changes from OV to VO syntax; indeed, they are those changes.

My purpose in making these fairly general comments is a special one. The impossibility of having prenominal NRRC's (or, for that matter, any unambiguously non-restrictive attribute) in OV syntax constitutes an 'asymmetry' with VO syntax, where NRRC's are definitely possible. Thus, 'left-branching' and 'right-branching' syntax are not in all respects one another's 'mirror image'. I mentioned, in passing, another 'asymmetry' above: the apparent impossibility of having 'paratactic' attributes, i.e. 'appositions', in OV phrase syntax. In contrast, such appositions are a common feature of VO organisation of grammar.

I have called the typical VO 'asymmetry' as compared to OV the "expansion to the right" (Verhaar 1980), and I wish to summarise the major points here. The theory is based on the use of 'copies', of which the best-known type is that of pro-forms. I hypothesise that most pro-forms are anaphoric, and that prophoric forms are relatively rare, unless followed by an 'afterthought topic' (He went away — the king), and perhaps largely confined to hypotactic constructions (After he₁ left, Frank₁ began to reconsider; compare with this *He₁ left, and Frank₁ began to reconsider). More generally, pro-forms have, in a number of languages exceeding chance frequency, been transferred from 'topic

agreement' to 'subject agreement', a development which is well known (e.g. Givón 1976). However, I wish to suggest that such pro-forms are more typical of VO syntax than of OV syntax; compare (80) with (81), from Indonesian and Japanese respectively

- (80) Sekolah itu // halaman-nya luas
 school TM ground its large
 This school // its grounds are large
- (81) Ano gakkoo wa // gurando ga hiroi desu
 that school TM grounds SM large PoMa
 That school // its grounds are large

(TM = topic marker; SM = subject marker; PoMa = politeness marker; itu in (80) is not deictic; // = functional pause). Note that (80) has the pro-form -nya; in contrast, (81) has no pro-form; ga is not anaphoric. The reason for the difference is clear: the possessor in (80) (sekolah) is to the left of the possessee (halaman), which is all right in the interclausal relationship that a topic has to the rest of the sentence, but not intraclausally, so that the sequential order balance has to be restored, with -nya, placing the possessor to the right. In (81), however, where intraclausally the possessor would have to be to the left anyway, its interclausal position to the left does not require a pro-form to restore the balance intraclausally. Of course, the kind of topic agreement illustrated in (80) is not the same kind as that which gives rise to agreement on the verb, but its discourse role is nevertheless significant. (I would suspect that verbal agreement would be rare in verb-initial languages, but I have not researched that in any depth.) What is important, for my topic, in (80) is that we are looking here at the 'intraclausalisation' of an interclausal relationship, and this is exactly what happens when topic-comment becomes subject-predicate.

Taking off from that kind of process, what I wish to suggest is that the pro-forms discussed here are not the only 'copies' which are typical of 'after-thought' follow-ups in speech, and, more particularly, that VO syntax has special strategies for this not found in OV syntax. (Again, of course, speakers of OV languages can also add 'afterthoughts' and then 'intraclausalise' them, but then, to the extent that such strategies become prevalent, they will deviate from OV alignment, and develop towards VO organisation of the grammar.) Consider the many verbs in Indonesian which, although they are already fully transitive, still add (optionally) prepositions as transitional forms from V to O: menguraikan (tentang) *to explain (about)*; membenci (akan) *to hate (in regard to)*; membedakan (antara) *to distinguish (between)*; menjelaskan (mengenai) *to clarify (concerning)*; etc. These transitional prepositions are 'semantic copies' of what is already fully contained, lexically, in the verb, even though it is not necessarily the entire semantic content of the verb that is being 'copied'. A similar 'semantic copying' may be observed in certain verb serialisations in this language (actually, mengenai in the last example is a verbal form): jatuh berguguran *to fall to be scattered*; terpelantai terguling-guling *to be flung away to roll away*; ujarnya menambahkan *he answered added*; etc. (resp. *to fall in great numbers; to be flung rolling away; he added in reply*); also, a similar 'copying' may be observed in demi untuk *for-the-sake-of for-the-purpose-of*; amat sangat *very very*; pun pula *also also*; etc. The preposition dari *of* may often be placed between possessee and possessor, even though that sequential order is already enough to express possession: rumah (dari) Pak Ahmad *Mr Ahmad's house*, and dari even may become daripada: rumah (dari(pada)) Pak Ahmad. But perhaps the most interesting instances of such semantic 'copying' are found in expressions of the type illustrated in (82)

- (82) surat (keterangan) jalan
letter information trip/travel
travel permission document
- cerpan (susunan) Ali
short story writing
Ali's short stories
- ruang (tempat) rapat
room place meeting
meeting room

of which there are many. The optional forms are all nouns, and they 'copy', in terms of lexical semantic content, part of the semantic content of the first noun. What is characteristic of such phrases in regard to their syntactic organisation is that a step-by-step IC analysis will not work. The opening noun is certainly the head, the closing one is certainly the attribute. The optional noun is certainly the head of the closing noun, but it is not an attribute to the opening noun. In fact, barring coincidences (because of context), the opening noun plus the optional noun together make no sense, and to the extent that they might, they would not be paraphrases of the expressions including the closing noun.

The very form of nominal attributes in VO syntax has characteristics not found (to my knowledge) in OV alignment. Consider a phrase like the flowers on the table; once we know that is a phrase, we know, of course, that on the table is the attribute (or prepositional form). But such an attribute could also be an adjunct of place in a sentence: for example, I saw the flowers on the table is ambiguous; either the table was the place where I saw the flowers, or the flowers are, attributively, identified as those on the table. It is characteristic for OV syntax that such ambiguities cannot occur there, as illustrated by (83) and (84), from Japanese

- (83) Teebulu no ue de wa hana o mimasu
table of top on TM flower OM see
On the table I see the flowers

- (84) Teebulu no ue no hana o mimasu

AM

I see the flowers on the table [on the table as attribute]

(TM = topic marker; OM = object marker; AM = attribution marker). In (83), *de* marks what precedes it as an adjunct (*wa* follows it to present it as topic); in contrast, (84) has *no* (its second occurrence, after *ue*) as an attribution marker (no may also be just *of*, but hardly as occurring after *ue*; for a test to this, see Verhaar 1980:61; however, that issue does not affect the point being made here). Japanese distinguishes sharply between attributes and adjuncts; the former are invariably marked with the postposition *no*, which places the attribute in a clearly hypotactic relation to the head (no matter what the semantic relation between the two nouns), and adjuncts have place, time, etc. markers.

I suggest that the reason for attribution markings in a way identical with that of adjunct markers is not a coincidence, and is essentially tied to VO syntax, i.e. with the attribute to the right. Adjuncts are peripheral constituents which, unless fronted for topicalisation reasons, are added on to the argument structure of the verb, to the right; such 'extranuclear' constituents can then easily be 'intranuclearised', in that they become attributes to arguments of the nuclear structure. Once this process has

established results, then of course such time- or place-marked attributes may be attached to any noun, nuclear or not. But the origin is that of an afterthought which is then admitted into the core structure of the clause.

I believe this general characteristic of VO syntax is the appropriate basis for understanding non-restrictiveness of RC's. Of course, NRRC's are genuine attributes, but their relations to their heads are much less 'hypotactic' than is the case with RRC's. In English, for example, a NRRC has opening *who* or *which* more as *and he/she/they* and as *and this/[etc.]* than as a co-referential introduction to a 'limiting' attribute which identifies uniquely. This is a language-universal characteristic of non-restrictive attributes in general, and such attributes are uniquely characteristic of VO syntax, as compared to OV syntax.

Indonesian *yang* clauses are not different, and confirm the general hypothesis just phrased. Both RRC and NRRC are possible, and the difference may appear, in appropriate context, in the place of the determiner. Compare phrases (85) and (86)

(85) *teman saya itu // yang datang kemarin*
friend I DET LIG come yesterday
that friend of mine // who came yesterday

(86) *teman saya yang datang kemarin itu*
friend I LIG come yesterday DET
that friend of mine who came yesterday

(DET = determiner; actually, depending on context, *itu* in (85) and (86) could also be a topic marker; // = functional pause). *Itu* appears before the NRRC, and follows the RRC; the NRRC is an 'afterthought', which does not affect the determiner of *teman saya*; whereas the RRC is an integral part of the phrase determined by *itu*. (Exactly the same analysis obtains, *mutatis mutandis* if *itu* is topic marker.)

Relativising *yang* is not itself a 'copy', or part of a 'copy', of the antecedent, since only pronominal ligatures, but not connective ones, could be that. Nevertheless, *yang* 'codes' the 'copy' element of whatever the co-referential element is (depending on whether the FCC, the PPCC, or the DPCC applies). *Yang* is, in discourse communication, the signal for the hearer that something is going to be added, as a 'statement' about the noun immediately preceding it. Before giving examples illustrating this, let me show an analogous characteristic in *adverbial* relativisations in this language. Compare the last example of (82), here repeated as (87), with (88)

(87) *ruang (tempat) rapat*
room place meeting
meeting room

(88) *ruang *(tempat) kami mengadakan rapat itu*
we [EXCL] hold
the room where we will hold the meeting

In (87), *tempat* is optional, a partial semantic 'copy' of *ruang*. In contrast, in (88), *tempat* is obligatory (for the same reason relativising *ruang* (just as *where* is in English, as in the gloss to (88))). Note that even *tempat* obeys the bondedness hierarchy for Indonesian: at level 1, that of the RC, it is obligatory, as in (88), whereas at the higher level illustrated in (87), that of a phrase, it is optional. It is, of course, difficult to assign a level 'number' to the (87) phrase, since Foley's bondedness hierarchy does not provide

for noun + noun; nevertheless, an attribute which is not clausal must be higher than one that is clausal, as in (88). Tempat in (88) differs from yang only in that the head (ruang) 'delegates' its involvement in the RC to a 'proxy', i.e. tempat, and in so far there is a measure of 'analogy' with pronouns introducing a RC. But the analogy is very limited: relativising tempat can only be 'adverbial' in the internal structure of the RC, and cannot be an argument to the RV (as can all genuine relative pronouns), like 'subject' (see (89)), or 'object' (see (90))

- (89) *ruang tempat merupakan tempat baik untuk rapat
 room place be place good for meeting
 the room which is a good place for the meeting

- (90) *ruang tempat saya mempersiapkan untuk rapat
 prepare
 the room which I prepared for the meeting

In (89), tempat functions as the 'subject' of the RC, but tempat, being peripheral to the argument structure of the RC, cannot be that. Hence it cannot be the 'object' either, which is why (90) is not wellformed. (Of course, an object cannot be prepredicate in this language anyway.) Note that relativising tempat has this in common with relativising yang that both are 'peripheral' in the argument structure of the RC, although the difference between the two is that tempat as a relativiser is at least adverbial in its relation to the argument structure of the RV, whereas yang is not even that. In other words, while tempat does the 'copying' (it is co-referential with the antecedent), yang only codes the 'copying' (yang only 'signals' some kind of co-referentiality between head and the RC it introduces).

As place is relativised, so also time. Compare (91) and (92)

- (91) jam (waktu) kerja
 hour time work
 working hours
- (92) selama jam-jam *(waktu) kamu bekerja
 during hour-RED you work
 during the hours when you worked

(RED = reduplication; I have a persistent feeling that relativising waktu can only relate to the past; this may have to be verified). The (91) phrase is of the (82) type, and strictly parallel to (87): waktu in it is a semantic 'copy', and it is optional. In contrast, in (92), waktu is obligatory, and all that has been said about the syntactic properties of tempat in (88) holds also for waktu in (92).

Now consider the following examples with yang clauses, (93) through (96)

- (93) Saya mau membeli rumah itu, maksud saya yang atapnya dibongkar
 meaning I
 I want to buy that house, I mean the one of which the roof has
 been torn down [see (63), above]
- (94) Sebaiknya kamu membaca lagi buku ini, yang saya kira ada di
 it-is-best you read again book this LIG I think be in
 perpustakaan pusat, (yang) barangkali akan sangat membantu-mu
 library centre LIG probably will very help you

dalam menghadapi ujian bulan depan
in confront examination month front
You'd better read this book once more, which I think is in the Main Library, and which will probably help you very much in preparing yourself for the examination next month

- (95) Saya ingin memperkenalkan Saudara dengan adik saya —
I want introduce you with (younger) brother I

yang memang, seperti sudah saya katakan kemarin, (yang) mungkin
LIG indeed as already I say yesterday LIG perhaps

bisa menolong Saudara —
can help you
I should like to introduce you to my brother, — who, as I already said yesterday, may be able to help you —

- (96) PLN menyebutkan suatu angka, yaitu limabelas
[name power company] mention a figure namely fifteen

juta Rupiah, yang ternyata setelah dilakukan pendekatan
million appear after be-done approach

dengan masyarakat, biaya itu tidak bisa dikumpulkan
with society expense that not can be-collected
The PLN (power company) named a sum, namely 15 million Rupiah, which, as it turned out after there had been consultation with the people, it would be impossible to collect

Sentence (93) is the same as (63), except for the addition maksud saya *I mean*, which makes the following yang clause a NRRC beyond any doubt; it could even be argued that yang thereby becomes 'replative'. Sentences (94) and (95) are from Kaswanti (pers. comm.). Note that there are two yang's in each sentence, the second occurrence of which is optional, and it seems that a speaker would tend to use it to the extent (s)he feels that a topic rather remotely to the left needs to be picked up again; non-use of the second yang, of course, shows how almost perfectly paratactically such afterthoughts can be added on; in (95), the first yang clause is not even finished before a second yang may be used to ensure continuity of the entire afterthought, continuity of which, in this instance, may be threatened by the parenthetical seperti sudah saya katakan. Note also that serial RC's can be conjoined without any overt co-ordination device such as *dan* and, a device which a language like English would need at least before the last of the series, as illustrated in (97)

- (97) Let me introduce you to my brother, who, incidentally, was a student at Harvard, (and) (who) is a famous physicist now, *(and) (who) will probably be able to help you

where the RP is optional, but not co-ordinating and before the last serialised RC. In Indonesian, *dan* is normally also needed before the last item of an enumeration, but not before the last RC in a serialisation of RC's. I regard this as typical for the 'paratactic' nature of NRRC's in this language. Finally, (96) (which I found in a newspaper, *Kompas*, 23 January, 1981, page XII, col.3), first introduces a NRRC with yang, and then (after an embedded clause [setelah... masyarakat]) picks up the head a full phrasal form again (biaya itu), with anaphoric itu! The interesting feature here is that, if (relativising) yang were to be replaced by (co-ordinating) *dan* and, the entire sentence would

be perfectly wellformed (according to some, even better). It may be said that (96) is rather colloquial (as are (93), (94), and (95)), and prescriptively minded (Indonesian) linguists would (as I have heard from themselves) like to turn down a sentence like (96). Whatever one's ideas may be about the relation between formal and informal Indonesian, it is certain that a sentence like (96) is perfectly in line with the typology of this language.

Again, note how the paratactic strategies illustrated in RC's in a consistently VO language like Indonesian are also uncharacteristic of a VO language like Japanese, where interclausal co-ordination is virtually impossible, and where CLAUSE + and + CLAUSE is out; this language does not even have a word for English and. The preceding clause is invariably in strict hypotactic relation to the following clause in a composite sentence, and the latter is strictly 'main' clause. Such OV syntax cannot accommodate afterthoughts except anacoluthically. And its syntax lacks the features due to 'intraclausalisation' of interclausal relationships, and those due to the 'intranuclearisation' of peripheral constituents.

In conclusion, perhaps a word or two must be said about interrogatives functioning as relativisers in Indonesian. One may find *siapa*, which is normal as interrogative pronoun (*who?*), in RC-introducing capacity; likewise, one may find *di mana* (which normally means *where?*) used as would English relativising *where*. The consensus among linguists is that these uses of interrogatives as relatives are due to interference from Dutch and English. This is probably true. Nevertheless, one may venture the tentative prediction that such relative use of interrogatives may gain the day in the long run. My reason for thinking so is not that I feel such interference is necessarily insuperable, but that the interfering languages themselves have gone through the same process. Relatives in many languages that have them have been derived from interrogatives, at least in part (another part would be derivation from demonstratives, probably originally used for 'topic agreement' in the 'comment'). These derivations are so widely spread that they might develop in a language like Indonesian also. The reason for such developments may well be the increasing role of written and more formal language, in the history of the language. Sociolinguistically, written language tends to be organised more along hypotactic lines, spoken language more along paratactic lines. This itself has, I believe, very little to do with a language having VO or OV syntax. VO syntax will develop its own devices for parataxis, but OV does the same *interclausally*; in spoken Japanese, for example, what would be a complicated multiple embedding 'period', is often colloquially broken down into topic strings, which may go quite a long way before the main clause makes its appearance. That, too, of course, is parataxis. What characterises paratacticisation in VO syntax is that it is largely *intraclausal*, and continues to characterise spoken language.

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ANAPHORIC MARKERS IN INDONESIAN TEXTS

Keith McCune and Azhar M. Simin

0. INTRODUCTION

Ever since reading the important work of Dardjowidjojo (1979) on the anaphoric markers *se-*, *nya*, and *itu*, the present authors have been wondering how to supplement the description found in that article, in order to account for certain exceptions. This paper shall attempt to describe:

- (a) conditions for the use of *se-* which will explain why some non-familiar NP's in a discourse are not marked with *se-*,
- (b) conditions for the use of *-nya* which will explain why some inferable NP's are not marked with *-nya*, and
- (c) conditions for the use of *itu* (and *ini*) which will explain why some previously mentioned NP's are not marked with *itu* or *ini*.¹

The three determiners will be treated in the following order: part 1 deals with *se-*, part 2, *-nya*, and part 3, *ini* and *itu*. Part 4 is a brief discussion of the use of these markers in certain literary devices.

1. CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF *se-*.

1.0 Introduction

Se-, as used here, is an abbreviation for the form *se-* + classifier. (In this study, *s(u)atu* has been included as a variant of the *se-* option, although in fact there are important differences between *se-* and *s(u)atu* *one* which must be taken up in future analysis.²

Non-familiar entities in texts (that is, those not assumed to be familiar to the reader by either presence in the situation, prior mention, inference or general knowledge) tend to be marked with *se-* only when the encoding NP is performing one of two overlapping functions: either creating a discourse referent, or measuring singular quantity. Otherwise, non-familiar NP's are normally left non-determined.

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1.1 Creating a discourse referent

Karttunen (1968) has described two categories of indefinite nominals in English which do not create discourse referents: (a) indefinite, non-specific predicate nominals and (b) indefinite nominals dominated by negation or an irrealis modality.³ (An NP has created a discourse referent if a subsequent reference to the same entity can take a marker of definiteness, such as the English *the*, or a pronoun.) The reason Karttunen gives for the properties that these NP's exhibit in texts is that they are non-specific, not really referring to an individual. The speaker does not normally have an individual in mind in such cases.

Creation of a discourse referent is probably a condition for *se-*. Thus, many non-familiar, unmarked NP's in Indonesian fit into Karttunen's categories of non-specific NP's. Under type (a), we will consider not only equative clauses but also comparisons. Under type (b) we will look at negations, conjectures and requests. In addition we will look at (c) nominals in adverbial constructions.⁴

1.1.1 Descriptive NP's

Indefinite predicate nominals in equative clauses, since they merely encode membership in a class, tend to be unmarked. This is true in the following four examples:

- (1) Kalau perempuan itu mata-mata, maka ia adalah sebagian dari musuh yang pernah mencincang kawan-kawanku di pinggir sungai Progo.
(K — see SOURCES OF DATA, p.98.)
*If the woman were a spy, then she was part of the enemy that had hacked my comrades to pieces on the bank of the River Progo.*⁵
- (2) Aku dulu ingin jadi pelukis dan menggambar tubuh-tubuh yang bagus.
I used to want to be an artist and draw beautiful bodies.
- (3) Aku menjadi benci kepada diriku sendiri, ... Aku pengecut! (K)
I begin to hate myself ... I was a coward!
- (4) Dikejar-kejar oleh Belanda selama empat bulan ini ia lebih merupakan beban yang menghambat kaki untuk melarikan diri dari maut. (K)
Being chased by the Dutch for these four months, she was more a burden weighing down my feet in my fleeing from death.

This is the normal pattern for nominal predicates.⁶ Like indefinite predicate nominals, the scope of a comparison (the NP following the word meaning *like*) is unmarked in most cases:

- (5) Sedangkan daun-daun yang kering, luruh menghampiri tanah seolah permadani. (H)
And the dry leaves completely covered the ground like a carpet.
- (6) Apapula suara berdengung seperti meninabobo. (H)
Moreover the sound hummed like a lullaby.

In these instances, an unmarked nominal represents the compared-with entity, and this indeed is the most common pattern. The reason is that in most comparisons, only the class is relevant, and thus no individual is referred to.⁷

The two examples below are exceptions to this norm: the compared-with entity is marked with *se-*. However, as we shall see in these examples, *se-* is appropriate because some kind of individuality is, in fact, established.

- (7) Dan Jim tiba-tiba memegang dahinya, matanya dipejamkannya.
 Mula-mula dia kelihatan seperti seorang aktor yang lupa menghafal dialog yang mesti dikuasainya... (D)
And suddenly Jim grabbed his forehead, and closed his eyes.
At first he looked like an actor who has forgotten to memorise a dialogue he ought to know by heart...

In this case the author is not merely indicating a set, as he is in (5) or (6), but is creating the image of a particular individual. He is pointing out a similarity between two individuals, for each of which he intends the reader to establish mental 'files' or 'addresses'. The latter terms, drawn from computer science, denote centres in memory to which information may subsequently be directed. Such information appears in the rather long relative clause. The reader is given a brief 'life history' of the compared-with NP. These relative clauses then, reflect the establishment of the individuality which seems to be a requisite for introducing an entity with *se-*. Again, in (8) below,

- (8) Dan aku sudah bosan kepada perempuan ini. Selama ia bunting ini ia rupanya seperti satu luka yang membusuk yang membarah yang memualkan perutku. (K)
And I was already tired of this woman. As long as she was pregnant she seemed like a foul, festering, nauseating wound.

One is presented with more than mere membership in the set 'wound': considerable detail is provided, enough to imagine this particular wound rather vividly.⁶

1.1.2 Negative and irrealis modes

When a non-familiar entity falls under the scope of a *negative*, in narrative use, it tends to be unmarked. The following excerpts demonstrate this tendency.⁹

- (9) Di dalam perjuangan tidak ada soal nilai dan kehormatan, kecuali kejantanan dan penghindaran dari maut. (K)
In war there is no question of values or respect, except for masculinity and escape from death.
- (10) Tidak pernah ada mata-mata dapat lolos hidup-hidup dari tanganku. (K)
There was never a spy that could escape from my hands with his life.
- (11) Ketika keesokan harinya si Kabayan pergi ke hutan, ia tidak melihat perempuan. (H)
The next day when Kabayan went to the forest, he didn't see any woman.
- (12) Tetapi keesokan harinya, ketika dinihari mertuanya membangunkan si Kabayan, ia tak mendapat jawaban. (M)
But the next day, when at dawn his father-in-law came to wake up Kabayan, he got no answer.

Non-familiar entities mentioned in *conjectures* also usually fail to create a discourse referent. In (13) and (14), the speakers present hypothetical conditions. (13) portrays an imagined and unlikely situation, while (14) is a pseudo-conditional generalisation.

- (13) "Ya, tetapi bagaimana kalau nanti ada orang yang menanyakan nama Bapak kepadaku? Bukankah jelek kalau aku tak bisa menjawab?" (M)
"Yes, but what if someone (or: a person) asks me your father's name? Wouldn't it be awful if I couldn't answer?"

- (14) Tetapi ketika ia lagi duduk di bawah sebatang kelapa, dilihatnya seekor tetinggi lagi berjalan dengan kakinya yang beribu-ribu itu. Kalau ada barang yang menyentuh tubuhnya, segera binatang itu menggulingkan badan menjadi bulat seperti roda (H)
But when he was sitting under a coconut tree, he saw a centipede walking with its thousands of legs... If something touched its body, the animal immediately rolled its body up round like a wheel.

(A more literal translation of *orang* and *barang* might be *person* and *thing*.)
 The examples below highlight the result of a hypothetical condition.

- (15) Begitu pula kalau mengerjakan ladang, ia tak pernah meminta bantuan menantunya. Ia tahu, tentu akan ada-ada saja alasan si Kabayan untuk mengelakkan perkerjaan. (M)
So if he worked in his field after that, he never asked for his son-in-law's help. He knew Kabayan would surely have an excuse to avoid working.

Finally, one example shows an unmarked nominal in a prediction.

- (16) Aku mendengar desing-desing yang menyayat-nyayat lagi udara, lalu bunyi seperti kipas besi yang berputar-putar. Tanda peluru akan dekat jatuhnya. (K)
I heard a whistling sound tearing the air again, then a sound like an iron propeller whirling. That meant that a shell was about to land nearby.

Like conjectures, requests involve a semantic 'maybe'. Thus, one would expect them to follow the same pattern of non-marking of the NP, as indeed is true of (17) and (18):

- (17) Malam itu juga aku bangunkan Pak Merto yang rumahnya kupakai menginap itu, minta pinjam sarung dan dengan kain itu di tanganku aku masuk ke biliknya. (K)
That night I woke up Pak Merto whose house I was using for lodging, and asked to borrow a sarong and with that cloth in my hand, entered her room.
- (18) "Peggy, my love.
 Aku butuh penjelasan. Kenapa kau tidak jadi datang?" (D)
*"Peggy, my love.
 I need an explanation. Why didn't you come?"*

At the time of mention, the entities mentioned have not yet materialised, and in this sense, they remain irrealis.¹⁰

However, as will be shown in section 1.2 of this paper, this principle is overridden in many requests quoted in *Secangkir kopi dan sepotong donat*. The reason may be that these requests are all food-orders in a restaurant, in which specification of quantity is important. Quantification, not individualisation, would then be the purpose of the use of *se-*.

1.1.3 Adverbials

Non-familiar NP's tend to be non-determined in adverbial phrases of manner. This can be seen in the following data:

- (19) Istrinya bisa dikasih mengerti. Kemudian perlahan-lahan, dengan suara gemetar karena takut kena tullah, suaranya berdesis menjawab: "Guto." (M)
He was able to make his wife understand. Then slowly, with a voice trembling for fear of being struck by some catastrophe, she whispered her answer: "Guto."
- (20) Aku melangkah maju dan menangkap tangannya, hendak menyeretnya ke luar. Ia membelalak kepadaku dengan pandangan meminta-minta... (K)
I stepped forward and caught her hand, intending to drag her outside. She stared at me with an imploring look...

However, *se-* can occur in a manner phrase:

- (21) Kemudian dengan satu tarikan yang sebat dan tegas dengan lipstick dilukiskannya satu gambaran jantung yang besar di kaca itu. Dan dengan gerakan yang sama tegas dan sebatnya ditariknya satu lukisan panah yang dengan garangnya menembus jantung yang besar itu. (D)
Then with a quick, sharp jerk she drew with her lipstick a picture of a big heart on the mirror. And with a move just as sharp and quick she sketched a drawing of an arrow piercing cruelly through that big heart.

This example is made even more interesting by the fact that the second clause contains a parallel phrase without *se-*.¹¹

1.2 Measuring singular quantity

Se- is required when the quantity 'one' must be specified.

- (22) ... urat sarafku yang selalu tegang selama dalam perjuangan ini masih menangkap bunyi tambakan meletup di kejauhan. Mungkin di Jenggotan satu kilometer dari sini, tempat menetap pasukan Sumarjo.
... my nerves, which had always been tense while I was in this war could still catch the sound of shooting in the distance. Perhaps in Jenggotan, one kilometre from here, where Sumarjo's division was staying.

An extension of the measuring function of *se-* is its use for emphatic negation: the idea of 'not even one'.

- (23) Tapi tidak seorangpun yang berani bergerak. (D)
But no one dared to move.
- (24) Tak seorangpun manusia dilihatnya. (M)
He didn't see a single person (or: anyone).

Specification of quantity however, is apparently not always crucial in conversation. Note the two following restaurant orders:

- (25) "0, seperti biasa, Peggy. Kopi dan sepotong cruller." (D)
"Oh, the usual, Peggy. Coffee and a cruller."
- (26) "Peggyyyy, secangkir kopi lagi dan donat macaroon." (D)
"Peggyyyy, another cup of coffee and a macaroon donut."

Since the location of *se-* is exactly switched in these two requests, it seems that in this setting quantity is assumed to be singular, unless stated otherwise.

In informal contexts at least, *se-* can be omitted when quantity is recoverable without it. In *Si Kabayan pergi ke hutan*, there are three occasions where Kabayan's meeting of some new thing in the forest is reported first by the author to the reader, and then by Kabayan to his mother-in-law. (27) describes his encounter with a beehive, (28) with a deer, and (29) with a beautiful woman.

- (27) ... Maka terpeganglah olehnya daun yang sudah kuning. Sambil meggerutu, dilemparkannya, lalu diinjak-injak sampai hancur. Kemudian ditengokkannya kepalanya ke atas. Maka nampak olehnya sebuah sarang lebah yang amat besar pada dahan yang paling rendah ...
"Ya, tetapi apakah kau tidak menemukan apa-apa, sehingga pulang bertangan hampa?"
"Ada sarang lebah saya temukan ..." (H)
... Then he found he was holding a yellowed leaf. Grumbling, he threw it down and trampled it into powder. Then he turned his head to look up. And he saw a very large beehive on the lowest branch ...
"Yes, but didn't you find anything — is that why you've come home empty-handed?"
"I found a beehive ..."
- (28) Si Kabayan tidak tahu lagi jalan ke tempat sarang lebah yang kemaren dilhatnya. Tetapi di sebuah semak yang agak rimbun, dilihatnya seekor rusa lagi tidur di bawah naungan pohon ...
 Waktu sampai di rumah, mertuanya bertanya:
"Kabayan, apakah yang kautemui di hutan?"
 Si Kabayan menjawab malas:
"Ada seekor rusa. Ia lagi tidur ..." (H)
Kabayan no longer knew the way to the beehive he had seen the day before. But in a rather dense thicket he saw a deer sleeping under the shelter of a tree ...
When he got home, his mother-in-law asked:
"Kabayan, what did you find in the forest?"
Si Kabayan answered lazily:
"There was a deer. He was sleeping ..."
- (29) Tatkala ia berjalan di jalan-tempuhan yang merupakan lorong dalam hutan, kebetulan dari arah depan ada seorang perempuan cantik yang sedang menuju ke arah si Kabayan. Melihat ada yang berjalan ke arahnya, si Kabayan berkata dalam hati: "Ini dia!" ...
 Ketika ia tiba di rumah, mertuanya bertanya:
"Apa kau temui di hutan, Kabayan, maka mukamu pucat tak berdarah seperti itu?"
 Jawab si Kabayan singkat:
"Ia mati kutombak."
"Apa yang mati kau tombak?"
 Si Kabayan: "Perempuan itu."
 Mertuanya: "Perempuan yang mana?"
 Si Kabayan: "Tadi waktu saya di hutan ada perempuan. Lalu saya lakukan pesan Emak. Ia saya tombak, mati ..." (H)

When he was walking along the alley that penetrated the forest, by chance from the other direction there was a beautiful woman coming toward him. Seeing there was someone walking toward him, Kabayan said to himself: "This is it!" ... when he got home, his mother-in-law asked:

"What did you find in the forest, Kabayan, to make your face all pale like that?"

Kabayan answered curtly:

"Something I speared to death."

"What did you spear to death?"

Kabayan: "The woman."

His mother-in-law: "What woman?"

Kabayan: "When I was in the forest a while ago there was a woman. Then I did what you said to do. I speared her; she died..."

In (27) and (29) the author's first mention of the beehive and the woman takes *se-*, while Kabayan's does not. On the other hand, in (28), both the author and Kabayan use *se-*.

The explanation for this pattern may be as follows. Given certain grammatical contexts, *se-* is used less in informal conversation than in literary writing. Kabayan, unlike the author, omits *se-* whenever the quantity 'one' is recoverable without it. Thus, *sarang* can remain non-determined because it is the nature of wild beehives to occur alone. However, since deer can appear in pairs or even larger groups, it is helpful to clarify the quantity of deer by adding *seekor*. As for the woman, quantity is recoverable in that case because of the immediately preceding conversation.

2. CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF *-nya*

2.0 Introduction

The NP-marker *-nya* encodes either (a) possession by, or (b) inference from some entity previously mentioned or present in the situation, or (c) both possession and inference. However, the converse is not true. Specifically, it is not true that inferability is always encoded with *-nya*.

2.1 Inference and possession

As background, let us begin by giving examples of the three uses of NP-marker *-nya* described above. First, *-nya* can represent possession when inference is not operative. (For heuristic reasons, 'possession' here will be defined in terms of English possession.)¹² An instance of this is seen in the very moving opening scene of Tur's *Yang hitam*. First, the reader gradually learns that the main character is blind. He then reads:

- (30) *Ia merubah letak duduknya. Dan roda-roda keretanya bergesekan pada asnya. Ia mengeluh lagi. Mengeluh lagi. Mengeluh lagi. Di saat ia tidak tidur, ia harus duduk di kursi kereta itu ... (Y)*
He changed his position. And the wheels of his chair rubbed against the axle. He sighed again. Sighed again. Sighed again. When he wasn't sleeping, he had to sit in this wheelchair ...

In this case the underlined NP is possessed by the man. It is not, however, inferable; on the contrary, the wheelchair comes as a surprise.

Secondly, -nya can mark nominals that are inferable from, but not possessed by, a previously mentioned entity.

- (31) Tiba di markas sudah petang dan malamnya aku suruh dia meniduri bilik di sebelahku. Di luar Darso menjaganya, berbaring di ruang tengah. Hawanya dingin dan tengah malam aku terganggu... (K)
When we arrived at headquarters it was already afternoon, and that night I ordered her to sleep in the room beside mine. Outside, Darso was guarding her, sleeping in the middle room. The weather was cold and at midnight I was disturbed...

The two underlined NP's above, *malamnya* *that night* and *hawanya* *the weather* illustrate this point. Malam is inferable as a member in the sequence suggested by petang *afternoon*. And of course every time and place is characterised by some kind of weather (*hawa*). But neither of these NP's would be appropriately translated with a possessive, in English: *its night*, *its weather*.

Thirdly, -nya sometimes marks nominals that stand in both a possessive and an inferential relation to the antecedent.

- (32) Jonggrangan ialah dukuh yang lebih ke atas lagi mendekati gunung Sumbing. Penghuninya jarang... (K)
Jonggrangan was the next highest, a village even higher up towards Mt Sumbing. The/Its inhabitants were few...

The reader can infer the presence of inhabitants from normal expectations about villages: the village has inhabitants (*dukuh* itu ada penghuni). The underlined NP is both inferable and possessable.

2.2 Inference without -nya

Having established this background, we now shall proceed to our main point. Some inferable entities in texts are marked with *itu* rather than -nya.¹³ Consider excerpt (33) below:

- (33) Langit hijau di mukaku. Hari sudah subuh waktu itu. (K)
The sky was green in front of me. At that time it was already dawn.

The underlined NP is inferable in the sense that every state must by natural necessity obtain at some time. Then why is the NP marked with *itu*, rather than -nya? This case seems very similar to *hawanya the weather* in (31): every time and place must have some kind of weather just as certainly as every state must occur during some time. Yet the former inference is represented by -nya, while the latter is not. (One might ask, conversely, how the effect would differ if in (31) the underlined NP's were changed to *malam itu* and *hawa itu*.) It seems likely in this case that the explanation lies in a property of certain general nouns denoting the time and place of an event (such as *waktu time*, *ketika point in time*, *saat moment* and *tempat place*). These nouns are used with demonstratives (*itu* or *ini*) to create deictic anchors for the cohesion of a text. This anchoring effect could not be achieved with the mere marking of inference by -nya.

Apparently inferable entities are also marked with *itu* rather than -nya when the inference is based on what Schank (1975) calls a 'script'. Scripts are our expectations that a given social activity will imply certain steps, props, goals and roles. This is seen in the following two examples:

- (34) Sudah banyak kali aku menjatuhkan hukuman. Orang itu kusuruh membikin lobang sebesar dia ... (K)
Many times I had pronounced the death sentence. I would order the person to make a hole as big as himself...

- (35) Akan tetapi sekali ini yang amat menyenangkanya benar. Biasanya selalu tawar-menawar dahulu. Selalu diperbencangkan uang. Menurut perasaannya, menyebut-nyebut uang selalu merusakkan perasaan kemudian. Dia lebih suka dia membayar kemudian lebih banyak, asal perempuan itu jangan tawar-menawar seakan pedagang saja. (S)
*But this time it was really quite satisfying. Usually there was some haggling beforehand. Always these money negotiations. He felt that mentioning money always spoiled the pleasure later. He preferred paying more, as long as the woman didn't go bargaining as though it were merely business.*¹⁴

Since both of these excerpts describe activities whose scripts require a second participant, even the initial mention of that second participant (the condemned in (34), the female consort in (35)) has *inferred* status.

The hypothesis being presented here is that roles inferred from scripts take *itu*, not *-nya*. One might present as counterevidence example (32), where the inhabitants (*penghuninya*) are inferable from a 'village script' and yet do not take *-nya*. However, that case is too ambiguous to be a valid counter-example, since the *-nya* in that NP could be attributed to possession rather than to inference.¹⁵

Thus we must introduce the first modification of our hypothesis. An entity inferable by script is marked with *itu* rather than *-nya* when it is not construed as possessable by the antecedent.

A further qualification of the hypothesis may be in order, in light of the following data. If a performer were extremely late for a concert in Indonesia, and the manager of the hall came out on stage, an irate member of the audience might shout:

- (36) "Mana orangnya?"
 "Where's the man?"

This intuitive data might be more satisfying if supported by material in a larger text, and yet the difference of marking between this last example and (34) should be accounted for. It may be that *itu* is used to more completely integrate the inferred entity into the discourse. This seems to be the case in (34) and (35), where the two underlined NP's represent (a class of) participants with whom the main participant is fully interacting.¹⁶

3. CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF *itu* AND *ini*

3.0 Introduction

Four constraints of varying strengths seems to determine whether a demonstrative (*itu* or *ini*) is used to mark an NP (as opposed to no demonstrative).¹⁷ To these, in order to convey their relative degrees of strength, one can assign rough numerical values, as shown below:

- | | |
|------------------------------|----|
| 1. Exophoric Reference: | +3 |
| 2. Non-restrictive Modifier: | +3 |
| 3. Prior Mention: | +1 |
| 4. Non-bounded Reference: | -2 |

Of course these values do not have hard and fast predictive significance, nor are they computed by careful countings. Instead, they are a rough representation of the frequency of correlation of a given NP property with the use of demonstratives. They also indicate which constraints override others. An NP with a positive score (≥ 1) after all values are added is likely to be marked by a demonstrative. Each of the four constraints will be described in turn.

3.1 Exophoric reference

This term is taken from Halliday and Hasan (1976). Fillmore (1975) was getting at the same idea when he opposed gestural and symbolic deixis (which require a knowledge of speaker's time and place for comprehension) to anaphoric deixis. Exophoric reference or gestural/symbolic deixis, then, deals with space and time.

Two examples of this occurrence from the data show that the exophoric constraint operates independently of the endophoric (prior mention) constraint.

- (37) "Jangan bawa koja itu!" teriakanya. (H)
"Don't take that pouch!" he shouted.

- (38) Aku tertarik kepada langit biru, kepada seni, kepada mimpi. Seperti orang yang doyan madat. Tetapi kesukaan lama itu tampak dari waktu sekarang ini sebagai kelemahan yang kecut. (K)
I was attracted to the blue sky, to art, to dreams. Like an opium addict. But that old fondness looks, from the present time, like a cowardly weakness.

Neither of the underlined NP's has been mentioned before as such in the text. Rather, the demonstrative is used to point in space (37) or time (38). This constraint has a high ranking, because gestural/symbolic deixis seems to always use a demonstrative.

3.2 Non-restrictive modifier

A non-restrictive modifier is a modifier encoding properties that are: (a) not essential or defining: these properties "can be changed without changing the meaning of the proposition",¹⁸ and (b) not identificational: not answering a presupposed question "which one?" Thus, the purpose of such modifiers is not primarily to enable the reader to single out the correct member of the set denoted by the head noun, but rather to *supplement* the reader's understanding of some referent.¹⁹

The following example shows that the non-restrictive modifier condition operates independently of exophoric reference and prior mention.

- (39) Kagum si Kabayan melihat tanduk rusa yang panjang bercabang-cabang itu. Ia menilik dengan teliti. Lalu teringat akan pesan mertuanya. Maka diambilnya koja yang tersandang di bahunya itu. Dari dalamnya dia mengeluarkan obor dan kayu api. (H)
Amazed, Kabayan looked at the deer's long, branching antlers. He studied it carefully. Then he remembered his mother-in-law's instructions. So he took the pouch slung at his shoulder. From inside it he got out a torch and some firewood.

Since the pouch at this point is not familiar by previous mention, inference or general knowledge; and since the author is not pointing to it in the extra-textual situation, we conclude that the factor conditioning the *itu* is the presence of the non-restrictive modifier. To see the non-restrictiveness of this relative clause, compare it to the relative clause in (7). In the former case, it is not likely that the modifier is intended to distinguish this pouch from some other pouch competing for the reader's attention. On the other hand, the modifier in (7) encodes an essential identificational property: it answers the question "what kind of actor?"

Two other examples will illustrate that the non-restrictive modifier condition is not only independent of prior mention and exophoric reference (since these NP's have neither property), but also overrides the non-bounded reference condition (to be explained in section 3.4).

- (40) Ketika keesokan harinya si Kabayan pergi pula ke hutan, ia tidak melihat perempuan. Tetapi ketika ia lagi duduk di bawah sebatang kelapa, dilihatnya seekor tetinggi lagi berjalan dengan kakinya yang beribu-ribu itu. (H)
The next day, when Kabayan went to the forest again, he didn't see any women. But while he was sitting under a coconut tree, he saw a centipede walking with its thousands of feet (or: its feet, which were thousands).
- (41) Taksiranku ia sudah berumur 20-21 tahun. Tapi karena tubuhnya yang penuh itu, ia rupanya lebih tua lagi. (K)
By my guess she was 20-21 years old. But because of her full-figured body, she looked even older.

A person's body is certainly a unique entity, and hence non-bounded, (see section 3.4), and yet the demonstrative occurs. It is because of such data as (41) that the non-restrictive modifier constraint is assigned a positive value greater than the negative value of the non-bounded reference constraint.

However, a few non-restrictive modifiers are not followed by demonstratives.

- (42) Aku sempoyangan jatuh ke muka. Tanganku yang mencari tumpuan tersengol oleh tepi meja dan pistolku terpelanting dari tanganku. (K)
I stumbled and fell forward. My hand, which was looking for support, was bumped by the edge of the table, and my pistol flew out of my hand.
- (43) Ketika aku sampai di halaman, aku masih mendengar ia berteriak: "Aku akan mati, mas. Aku akan mati!!!!" Aku dapat membayangkan mulutnya yang berkerinyut-kerinyut tegang. (K)
When I reached the garden, I could still hear her shouting: "I'll die. I'll die!" I could picture her mouth, all wrinkled up tight.

These two examples are included to show that the constraint as now formulated is not exceptionless. The following properties of the NP's involved would not explain why the demonstratives mark the first pair (40) and (41), but not the second, (42) and (43). First, of the second pair of NP's, each is previously mentioned, while neither of the other pair is. If anything, this would lead us to expect the opposite result. Secondly, in each pair there is one NP at the end of its sentence, and one non-final NP. Thus, syntactic position is not the same.

One might posit (based on these data alone) that only modifiers containing information *thematic* in the story would condition the demonstrative. The fact that the centipede has an unusual appearance, and that Sulinah is attractive, are rather important themes in the stories: attributes which command the attention of the main characters in each story, and determine the direction of the plot. The same cannot be said of the 'searching' or 'wrinkling' of (42), and (43). These are minor details by comparison. In a similar vein, the modifiers in the first pair denote *inherent* attributes; those in the second denote accidental ones.

Sometimes the non-restrictive modifier constraint seems to be motivated by communicative expedients related to parsing: the clarification of a modifier's scope or the closure of a heavy NP.²⁰ Two good examples of the need to clarify a modifier's scope are:

- (44) Tak syak lagi! Benar ada orang yang memanggil namanya. Tetapi siapa? Segera ingatannya lari kepada makhluk-makhluk gaib yang menghuni Pasir Muncang. Kepalanya yang tiba-tiba menjadi berat seribu kali itu ditolehkannya ke arah kuburan keramat yang tak jauh dari tempatnya berladang. (M)
There could be no more doubt! Someone really was calling his name. But who? Immediately his memory flew to the mysterious creatures that haunted Pasir Muncang. He turned his head, which suddenly grew a thousand times heavier, toward the graveyard shrine not far from where he was farming.
- (45) Malam itu juga aku bangunkan Pak Merto yang rumahnya kupakai menginap itu minta pinjam sarung dan dengan kain itu di tanganku aku masuk ke biliknya. "Ini selimut. Jangan mengerang lagi!" geramku, sambil melemparkan sarung itu di atas bale-bale di sampingnya. (K)
That night I woke up Pak Merto, whose house I was using for lodging, and asked to borrow a sarong, and with the cloth in my hand entered her room. "Here's a blanket. Quit moaning!" I growled, throwing the sarong onto the cot beside her.

In both cases, *itu* makes it clear that the NP's last modifier is part of the preceding nominal, not of the following predicate. Otherwise in (44) it might appear that the man turned his head a thousand times, and in (45) that the house was being used for the purpose of borrowing sarongs.

In any case these parsing conditions would apply to only a part of the NP's with non-restrictive modifiers. It may be that the desire for a demonstrative after a non-restrictive modifier can be explained using Foley's (1976) Bondedness Hierarchy.²¹ Foley's idea is that the more weakly an NP-margin (article, number, adjective, gerund, clause) is bound to its head, the more it needs a marker to make the unity of the NP explicit. Since a non-restrictive modifier is less essential to its head than is a restrictive modifier (in the ways described at the beginning of 3.2), the demonstrative may be a kind of compensating strategy. The demonstrative may be used to emphasise that all material preceding it, even though it is only supplementary, belongs to the last head noun.

3.3 Prior mention²²

A demonstrative is used when an entity has been mentioned earlier²³ in the discourse, with two qualifications: (a) This excludes cases where no discourse referent was created, that is, under conditions outlined in part 1.1 above. (b) The 'givenness' marked by a demonstrative also includes cases of inferability that cannot be construed as possessive, as described in part 2.1 above. Some examples of this constraint are shown below.

- (46) Si Kabayan tidak tahu lagi jalan ke tempat sarang lebah yang kemaren dilihatnya. Tetapi di sebuah semak yang agak rimbun, dilihatnya seekor rusa lagi tidur di bawah naungan pohon. Rusa itu tidur seperti bangkai. (H)

Kabayan no longer knew the way to the beehive he had seen the day before. But in a rather dense thicket he saw a deer sleeping under the shelter of a tree. The deer was sleeping like a corpse.

Prior mention also includes time-units; as seen in (45): malam itu *that night*. In addition, prior mention takes in 'extended reference': the nominal expression of what was previously presented in non-nominal form.²⁴

- (47) Mawardi menemukannya di Bandongan. Ketika itu serdadu Belanda baru saja meninggalkan tempat itu. Perempuan ini asing di dusun itu, karena itu ia ditangkap. Katanya ia baru datang dari kota mau menyusul bapaknya yang sudah sebulan mengungsi ke gunung. Mawardi tak percaya dan membawanya sebagai tawanan ke mana saja pasukan bergerak.

"Kalau memang mata-mata mengapa tidak ditembak saja!" tegurku kepada anakbuahnya, yang melaporkan kejadian itu kepadaku ... (K)
Mawardi had met her in Bandongan. At that time the Dutch soldiers had just left that place. This woman was a stranger in that village, so she was taken prisoner. She said she had just come from town to follow her father who had fled to the mountains a month before. Mawardi didn't believe her and took her along as a prisoner wherever the division moved.

"If she's really a spy why don't you just shoot her!" I chided his man, who had reported this event to me ...

In (47), the antecedent constitutes an entire paragraph, whereas in (48), it is a clause.

- (48) Waktu malam di gunung Sumbing sangat dinginnya. Hawa dingin itu ... (K)
Night on Mt Sumbing is extremely cold. The cold air ...

These are just a few of the most common kinds of previously mentioned entities in texts.

3.4 Non-bounded reference

This term denotes exhaustive reference to an entire set, such that there is no need to draw a conceptual boundary around any one member or subset.²⁵ Unlike the preceding three factors, this one tends to condition the non-occurrence of a demonstrative. This type of reference comprises two subtypes: non-specific and unique. Non-specific reference can be either mass reference (where the set has no distinct members) or generic (where all members are referred to). Unique reference is the case where the set contains only one member relevant to the universe of discourse.

3.4.1 Non-specific reference

Mass reference is the non-count status of a particular NP at a particular point in a text; it is not the intrinsic degree of countability of the head noun considered 'in isolation'.²⁶ Thus, the underlined NP's in (49) and (50) below are mass references, while in (51) and (52) this is not the case, even though the head nouns of all four NP's might be listed in a dictionary as non-count.

- (49) Aku tak mungkin meninggalkan pasukan dan kembali ke kota. Itu berarti penghianatan kepada perjuangan dan penghianatan harus dibayar dengan nyawa. (K)

I couldn't leave my division and go back to town. That would mean treason against the struggle, and for treason one must pay with one's life.

- (50) Di dalam perjuangan tidak ada soal nilai dan kehormatan kecuali kejantanan dan perhindaran dari maut.

Dan aku sudah bosan kepada perempuan ini... Dikejar-kejar oleh Belanda selama empat bulan ini ia lebih merupakan beban yang menghambat kaki untuk melarikan diri dari maut. (K)

In war there is no question of value or respect except for masculinity and escape from death.

And I was already tired of this woman... Being chased by the Dutch for these four months, she was more a burden, weighing down my feet in my fleeing from death.

- (51) Malam itu malam gelap... Aku merasa aman dalam gelap itu. Aku merasa satu dengan kegelapan. Aku gelap sendiri. Aku telah memilih kegelapan ini... (K)

It was dark night... I felt at peace in the dark. I felt one with darkness. I was darkness itself. I had chosen this darkness.

- (52) "Kanon Belanda beraksi!" terkilat dalam kepalaku. Dan secepat pikiranku itu terdengar peluru meletus. Blarr!

"The Dutch are firing their cannons!" flashed into my head. And as soon as that thought came to me (or: as fast as that thought of mine) I heard a shell explode. Blarr!²⁷

Generic reference is reference to all members of a set, as in

- (53) Seni hanya tersisa bagi perempuan dan orang-orang lemah. Perempuan tidak punya watak. (K)

Art is only left for woman and weak men. Women have no character.

Both of these kinds of non-specific reference — mass and generic — are constraints against the use of a demonstrative, which — as examples (49), (50), and (53) show — override prior mention. Hence the numerical value of -2 is assigned to this constraint to override the +1 value of prior mention.

3.4.2. Unique reference

The concept of *unique reference*, needed to explain the absence of demonstratives in certain previously mentioned NP's, is actually somewhat different from, or more elaborate than, various earlier treatments in the literature. For example, one can begin with Cartier's insight that an account of definite markers requires some appeal to uniqueness, to nominals which "refer to one and the same thing in the natural world of both speaker and hearer".²⁸ In extending this definition to cover more data, we have found the need to rethink both "speaker or hearer" and "world".

It turns out that the person for whom an entity's uniqueness is defined can be not only speaker or hearer, but also a third person, for example a participant in a narrative. When the narrator in H says in (54):

- (54) Hutan tak begitu jauh tempatnya. (H)

The forest wasn't very far away.

it is not in his world or the reader's that the forest is unique, but in the world of the chief character, Kabayan. Kabayan is the relevant experiencer.

In addition, the concept of "world" must be re-cast to include "worlds" of varying durations, changing scenes and situations, as well as the changing perspectives of the experiencer. Uniqueness can be thought of as a continuum from permanently unique to non-unique. Some permanently unique entities are those which are unique in nature: matahari *sun*, langit *sky*, bumi *earth*. Under most circumstances, each of these nouns has only one possible referent. Another kind of permanently unique entity consists of those which are unique for each person:

- (55) Aku dulu ingin jadi pelukis dan menggambar tubuh-tubuh yang bagus. Tapi ibuku mentertawakan aku ...

Tapi ibu tetap tak mau percaya ... (K)

I used to want to be an artist and to draw lovely bodies. But my mother laughed at me ...

But mother kept on not believing.

- (56) Tawanan Mawardi bernama Sulinah ... Taksiranku ia sudah berumur 20-21 tahun. Tapi karena tubuhnya yang penuh itu ia rupanya lebih tua lagi ... Bajunya lurik, amat rapat potongannya dengan badannya. (K)

Mawardi's prisoner was named Sulinah ... By my guess she was around 20-21 years old. But because of her full-figured body she looked even older ... Her blouse was made of lurik, cut to fit quite snugly with her body.

Notice that in these last two examples, the uniqueness of the underlined NP overrides its prior mention, such that no demonstrative is used. The same is true of all the unique entities cited here.²⁹

Other entities are unique in some long-standing situation. This is true (as pointed out by Cartier, this volume) of many location NP's:

- (57) Setelah menggosok matanya yang terasa berat mengantuk itu, si Kabayan berjalan ke arah dapur ... Lantaran kekenyangan, kantukpun datang. Maka pergi pula ia dari dapur ke ... biliknya. (H)

After rubbing his eyes, which feel heavy with sleepiness, Kabayan walks toward the kitchen ... Since he is quite full, weariness comes over him. So he goes from the kitchen to ... his room.

- (58) "Aku tak tahan lagi", gerutu perempuan itu selalu. "Engkau bawa aku ke kota!"

Aku tidak menjawab. Aku tidak perlu menjawab ... Aku tidak mungkin meninggalkan pasukan dan kembali ke kota. Itu berarti pengkhianatan kepada perjuangan dan pengkhianatan harus dibayar dengan nyawa. (K)

"I can't stand it any more!" she always grumbles. "Take me to town!" I don't answer. I don't need to answer ... I can't leave my division and go back to town. That would mean treason against the struggle, and for treason one must pay with one's life.

These underlined NP's denote the one *salient* member of the given set. For instance, in (58), the question "which city" does not arise. The intended city is the one nearby, the one with which the experiencer has the most dealings.

Other entities have a unique status limited to a situation of shorter duration. Some locations have this status. A clear example is *markas headquarters* in a story about guerillas whose headquarters is continually moving:

- (59) "Turut sekarang juga!" bentakku sambil mendahului dia ke luar.
 Darso, ajudanku, telah siap menjaganya dari belakang dengan mausernya.
 Kami bertiga berjalan kembali ke posku ...
 Tiba di markas sudah petang ... (K)
"Come on now!" I snapped, walking out ahead of her. Darso, my adjutant, was guarding her from behind with his mauser. The three of us walked back to my post ...
When we arrived at headquarters it was already afternoon ...

Certain props may have the same kind of status.

- (60) Ketika aku sampai ke pintu, ia sedang berbaring melingkar di atas bale-bale ...
 ... Matakku menelan lagi garis-garis tubuhnya yang menggelombang dengan lemasnya dari lengannya, pinggangnya, lalu menyusup ke gelap pangkuannya. Pandangannya sepi sesepi nyala api di meja.
 "Ke luar!" perintahku parau ...
 Ia bangkit dari baringnya dengan ragu-ragu.
 "Ke luar!" seruku, kini lebih tegas. Ia belum percaya dan memandang dengan geramnya ke arah senjata di tanganku. Ia menggelengkan kepalanya. Tidak! Sambil menangkupkan diri lagi ke bale-bale ...
 Aku seret dia dari bale-bale ... Ia jatuh ke tanah dan mencoba melawan dengan mengaitkan tengannya kepada kaki meja.
 ... Aku sempoyongan jatuh ke muka. Tanganku yang mencari tumpuan tersenggol oleh tepi meja dan pistolku terpelanting dari tanganku. Meja bergoyang dan tiba-tiba ruang kamar itu menjadi gelap gulita. (K)
When I got to the door, she was lying restlessly on her cot ...
... My eyes devoured once again the lines of her body that undulated in a supple way from her arms, her waist, and disappeared in the darkness around her loins. Her gaze was as empty as the flame on the table.
"Out!" I ordered hoarsely ...
She got up from her bed in confusion.
"Out!" I ordered, this time more sharply.
She didn't believe me yet and looked at the weapon in my hand.
... She shook her head. No! And she threw herself back onto the cot ...
I dragged her from the cot. She fell to the floor and tried to resist by hanging onto the table leg ...
... I stumbled forward. My hand, which was groping for support, banged against the edge of the table and my pistol was knocked out of my hand. The table wobbled and suddenly the room was pitch black.³⁰

Even though the woman in this passage has been as nomadic as the guerillas, and has slept in many rooms, at this point in the story she has (according to normal expectations), one cot and one table.³¹ Similarly, an Indonesian officer may be expected to be using no more than one pistol at a time.

An example of extremely short-term uniqueness is seen in the following excerpts. In (39), when Kabayan has espied the deer, we read:

- (61) Lalu teringat akan pesan mertuanya.
Then he remembered his mother-in-law's instructions.

The *pesan message* refers to his mother-in-law's instructions to burn the bottom of what he found in the forest. Later in the story we see the following:

- (62) Tetapi si Kabayan sangat patuh akan pesan mertuanya. Ia tak menghiraukan ajakan orang-orang itu. Menoleh pun tidak. (H)
But Kabayan was very obedient to his mother-in-law's instructions. He didn't pay any attention to the people's invitation. He didn't even turn his head.

However, at this point in the story, *pesan mertuanya* refers to a different message: the instruction to ignore what he found in the forest.

On each occasion, the *pesan message* refers to a different instruction, and yet at each point when it is referred to, that piece of advice has unique status in Kabayan's consciousness. It is as though each cycle in the story wipes out the relevance or awareness of the preceding advice.

However, there are a number of cases where the same entity is viewed from two different perspectives. Within the close or involved perspective, the entity has unique status, but within the distant or detached perspective, the same entity no longer has unique status. Consider the following examples:

- (63) Maka diambilnya koja yang tersandang di bahunya itu. Dari dalamnya dia dikeluarkan obor dan kayu api. Sementara menyiapkan obor, si Kabayan repot. Ia tak tahu bagaimana menaruh koja. Untuk menyandangkannya pula, ia merasa kepalang. Maka disangkutkannya koja itu pada sebuah cabang tanduk rusa itu. (H)
Then he took the pouch that was slung at his shoulder. From inside it he got out a torch and some firewood. While he was getting the torch ready, he had too much to do. He didn't know where to put the pouch down. He didn't feel he could sling it back on his shoulder. So he hung the pouch on a branch of the deer's antlers.

- (64) Keesokan harinya tatkala si Kabayan pergi pula ke hutan, ia ... menjinjing sepucuk tombak punya mertuanya ...
 Melihat ada yang berjalan ke arahnya, si Kabayan berkata dalam hati: "Ini dia!"
 Lalu tombakpun disiapkan. Matanya tajam mengawasi perempuan itu, supaya jangan lari. Ketika sudah dekat, segera si Kabayan melemparkan tombak ke arah perempuan itu. Tombak mengena dengan jitu ... Maka dia cabut tombak itu dari tubuh kurbannya. (H)
The next day when Kabayan went to the forest again, he...was carrying a spear of his father-in-law's ...
Seeing that someone was coming towards him, Kabayan said to himself: "This is it!" Then he got the spear ready. His eyes watched the woman keenly, so she wouldn't escape. When she was close, he immediately threw the spear toward her. The spear hit home ... Then he pulled the spear from the body of his victim.

In both of these cases, while the instrument is under the agency of Kabayan, it is unmarked. Then, when it leaves his control, it takes *itu*. Hanging the pouch on the deer's antler is a loss of control – the deer subsequently runs off with it. At the moment of Kabayan's throwing the spear, he is still exercising control; later, the spear is outside of his sphere of influence. It is as though *itu* signals a new distance between experiencer and object, which overcomes the object's uniqueness.

Two other examples of this change in distance and perspective come from the narrator's abandoning of Sulinah in K:

(65) Aku bangun dari baringku dan melangkah ke pintu.

"Engkau pergi ke mana, mas!" tanya perempuan celaka itu dengan cemas.

Aku tak menjawab.

"Aku akan mati mas, kalau engkau tinggalkan!" ancamnya ke arahku ketika aku sudah sampai ke pintu. Seolah-olah ia sudah merasa maksudku. Tetapi aku berjalan terus dan menutup pintu di belakangku tanpa menoleh kepadanya ...

"Sulinah! Sulinah!" teriakku, tetapi suaraku tinggal tersekat di tenggorokanku. Aku masih melihat dia sempoyongan melepaskan diri dari pintu itu lalu melangkah ke muka ... (K)

I got up from where I had been sleeping and stepped toward the door.

"Where are you going!" asked the tragic woman anxiously.

I didn't answer.

"I'll die if you leave!" she threatened in my direction when I had reached the door, as though she'd already guessed my plan. But I kept walking and closed the door behind me without turning toward her ...

"Sulinah! Sulinah!" I shouted, but my voice stuck in my throat. I could still see her stumbling, freeing herself from the door, then stepping forward.

In this sequence, the door of his hut is referred to three times as he is making the decision to abandon his village and his female companion: when he steps toward the door, gets to the door, and closes the door. Here it is called pintu, since he is close to it and involved with it. The fourth reference, however, is pintu itu, because the door is being viewed from a distance, as the narrator tries to return to this hut during a bombing.

The second entity which undergoes a change of perspective and distance, and hence of uniqueness, is the village. In this case the pattern is not manifested so neatly, as apparently some other factors are at play.

(66) Jonggrangan ialah dukuh yang lebih ke atas lagi mendekati gunung Sumbing ... Malamnya aku dengan Darso berjaga-jaga di pinggir desa ...

Aku turun dari dukuh itu dan berjalan melalui jalan setapak dan tanggul ...

Seperti terkejar-kejar aku kembali melintas tanggul dan jalan setapak menuju ke dusunku. Benturan peluru meriam yang jatuh menggegerkan bumi di bawah kakiku ... Dua puluh langkah lagi, sepuluh langkah, lima langkah lagi dari batas desa! Sampai di pagar bambu aku jatuh tertelungkup kepayahan. Di muka tampak olehku halaman dan kampung dukuh itu ... (K)³²

Jonggrangan was a village higher up towards Mt Sumbing ... That night Darso and I were on guard duty at the edge of the village ... I went down from the village and walked past the footpath and the dike ... As though I were being chased, I ran back past the dike and the footpath toward my village. The crash of falling cannon shells shook the ground under my feet ... Twenty more steps, ten steps, five more steps to the edge of the village! When I got to the bamboo fence I fell headlong with exhaustion. Ahead, I could see the gardens and the homes of the village.

Basically the same pattern governs (66) as (63)-(65): the non-determined form correlates with closeness, and the use of *itu*, with distance. However, between the narrator's initial separation (departure from dukuh *itu*) and his final separation (watching helplessly at a distance from dukuh *itu*) falls an intervening period. During this period, the absence of any demonstrative with 'village' suggests the following: the narrator's desire to be close to the village overrides the fact of his physical distance.

The very fact that a demonstrative functions as shown in (63)-(66), shows an interesting interpenetration of exophoric and endophoric usage, of pointing beyond the discourse and pointing within the discourse. If the analysis here is correct, then this is a phenomenon akin to free (or direct) indirect discourse, a merging of viewpoints of narrator and participant, of speaker's deixis and actor's deixis. That is, the narrator is employing *itu* not merely anaphorically, but in such a way as to parallel the deictic usage that would appear in direct quotation of the actor's thoughts.

This kind of change of perspective and hence of uniqueness can also involve NP's of more permanently unique status. Consider the example below:

- (67) Setelah selesai makan, si Kabayan berangkat ke hutan. Hutan tak begitu jauh tempatnya. Orang-orang kampung kalau hendak mencari kayu, buah-buahan ataupun berburu pergi ke hutan itu. (H)
"After he finished eating, Kabayan left for the forest. The forest wasn't very far away. The people of the village, if they wanted to look for wood or fruit or to hunt, went to that forest."

In the first two underlined NP's, the author is speaking of the forest that needs no singling-out, because it is the single salient candidate in the neighbourhood of his story. However, the third reference to the same forest sets that forest up in contrast to others, taking a more objective view, implying that there are other forests for other villages.³³ Even entities that are normally considered permanently unique can be viewed from both perspectives. Consider the following reference:

- (68) "Pagi ini engkau mau apa, coklat atau marmalade?" tanya Fatma.
 Suryono memandang padanya, dan berkata, "Wah, alangkah baiknya ibu ini. Aku mau selapis mentega, dilapis dengan kiju yang diiris tipis, dan di atas kiju selapis marmalade, dan kemudian..." Suryono menyentuh kaki Fatma di bawah meja, dan Fatma tertawa kecil kesenangan.
 "Engkau anak jahat, kurang ajar sama ibu sendiri", katanya. (S)
"What do you want this morning, chocolate or marmalade?" asked Fatma. Suryono looked at her, and said, "My, how nice this mother is. I'd like a layer of butter, covered with thinly sliced cheese, and over the cheese a layer of marmalade, and then..." Suryono nudged Fatma's foot under the table, and she giggled with pleasure
"You naughty boy - bad manners, and with your own mother", she said.

Fatma is referred to here as *ibu ini this mother*; Suryono is viewing her, perhaps in comparison with other mothers. Because he is playing the role of a judge, less involved than a child, the normal uniqueness of *ibu* is suspended. (This is not difficult for him, since Fatma is his step-mother and he is involved with her in an adulterous affair.)

Now that the concept of uniqueness has been sufficiently broadened to include these varying degrees of permanence, what remains outside the category?

For one thing, the vast majority of animate, common nouns in a text are non-unique. Perhaps the explanation is that normally, inanimate entities constitute the background against which animate entities move. Thus, at any point an additional woman or sergeant might be added to the story, but probably another bed will not be added to the scene, nor is an officer likely to produce a second pistol. (We are dealing here with normal expectation.)

Of course, there are animate entities that *do* have unique status of both permanent (e.g. ibu in (55)) and temporary duration. For an example of the latter, consider:

- (69) Mawardi menemukannya di Bandungan... Katanya ia baru datang dari kota mau menyusul bapaknya... Mawardi tak percaya dan membawanya sebagai tawanan ke mana saja pasukan bergerak...

Tawanan Mawardi bernama Sulinah. (K)

Mawardi had met her in Bandungan... She said she had just come from the city to follow her father... Mawardi didn't believe her, and took her as a prisoner everywhere the troop moved...

Mawardi's prisoner was named Sulinah.

Here, it is already clear beforehand that Mawardi has only one prisoner.

It has probably been obvious throughout this discussion that uniqueness is related to relevance. One further implication of this connection is that an entity may count as unique if in fact there is more than one member of the set present, but the difference between members is irrelevant. Even for second mention, tanganku *my hand* is normally used instead of tanganku itu because the question "which hand?" is rarely relevant. Thus, practically speaking, tanganku is unique.³⁴

4. THE MARKERS AND LITERARY EFFECTS

Also of interest are the various creative ways in which these nominal markers can be applied by authors to achieve certain effects. For instance, the distribution of se-, since it is an 'introducer', can reflect the overall structure of a story. The narratives we examined showed se- to be reinforcing both cyclical and climactic narrative structures. In two folk tales by Asip Rosidi, cycles were marked by recurrences of se-. In *Si Kabayan pergi ke hutan*, each form of rezeki or *fortune* that Kabayan discovers is marked with se-, as is the setting in which the 'fortune' is located. Cyclicity is also marked by se- in the other folktale, *Si Kabayan dengan mertuanya*, although somewhat differently. It is not concrete objects, but units of time, that are marked with se- (e.g. Pada satu hari *one day*). This emphasis on cycles of time matches the agricultural theme of the story.

A more linear narrative progression, cumulative movement toward a single peak, is supported by the significantly increased frequency of se- during the climax of *Kejantanan di Sumbing*. This may be one of the author's means of quickening the pace by a rapid flow of newly introduced individuals, all clamoring for attention but none of them dwelt on for very long.

Another creative use of the determiners is in pretending that the reader has less or has more information about some entity than is really the case. These two strategies may be called, respectively, *defamiliarisation* (Stacy's (1977) rendering of the Russian formalists' term *ostranenie*)³⁵ and by analogy, *prefamiliarisation*. In defamiliarisation, a previously mentioned entity,

presented from a new perspective, appears with se-, as though the narrator were disavowing his prior knowledge of it. For instance, in the climax of *Kejantanan di Sumbing* the author watches the bombing of the hut where his female companion Sulinah is staying. He portrays her from a great psychological distance during this event:

(70) ... Meriam berdentum-dentum di kejauhan.

Tiba-tiba aku melihat sesosok tubuh berpapah-papah ke luar dan bertelekan dengan seluruh badannya pada tiang pintu...

"Sulinah! Sulunah!" teriakku... (K)

... *Cannons were booming in the distance.*

Suddenly I saw a figure leaning out with all its weight against the doorpost...

"Sulinah! Sulinah!" I shouted...

Although in fact the underlined nominal refers to a very prominent character in the story, the narrator does not establish the connection. In this way, perhaps it is debatable whether the narrative persona (the 'I' of the tale) is portraying himself here as genuinely ignorant about the identity of the 'figure'. This usage could also plausibly be viewed as a self-conscious means of imparting his altered perceptions during the bombing. In either case, the use of se- heightens the effect.

Prefamiliarisation is pretending the opposite: that the reader is already familiar with some entity, when in fact he is not. -nya is used in this way to anticipate the 'seduction' of the narrator in K.

(71) Aku menjadi geram. Aku merunduk akan merenggutnya ke luar dengan sekeras tenagaku. Tetapi kemudian aku tak jelas lagi bagaimana mulanya. Aku rupanya tersandung pada kaki perempuan itu... Aku belum tersadar dari terkejutku, ketika perempuan itu merangkul aku. (K)

I got angry. I stooped to pull her outside with all my might. But then, it's not clear any more how it started (or: what its/the beginning was like). It seems I stumbled and fell at her feet... I hadn't yet recovered from my surprise, when she embraced me.

A similar prefamiliarising use of itu causes a small-scale communication breakdown in excerpt (29) above (repeated here for convenience). Here Kabayan speaks as though his mother-in-law were already aware of the woman he met. In fact she is not, and she reacts accordingly:

(72) "Apa yang kau temui di hutan, Kabayan, maka mukamu pucat tak berdarah seperti itu?"

Jawab si Kabayan singkat:

"Ia mati kutombak."

"Apa yang mati kautombak?"

Si Kabayan: "Perempuan itu."

Mertuanya: "Perempuan yang mana?"

Si Kabayan: "Tadi waktu saya di hutan ada perempuan..." (H)

"What did you meet in the forest, Kabayan, to make your face all pale like that?"

Kabayan answered curtly:

"Something I speared to death."

"What did you spear to death?"

Kabayan: The woman."

His mother-in-law: "What woman?"

Kabayan: "When I was in the forest a while ago there was a woman..."

5. SUMMARY

In summary, the conditions on the use of the three markers *se-*, *-nya* and *itu* seem to be as follows:

Se- has two primary (overlapping) uses: creating a discourse referent and measuring one. Since it is used in creating discourse referents, it does not normally mark those non-familiar nominals which do not refer to individuals, and hence do not create discourse referents. Such nominals tend to occur in the following kinds of constructions: descriptive NP's (in equatives and comparison, unless the author does intend the NP to somehow create an individual or identity in the reader's mind), under negation or irrealis modality (negatives, conjectures, requests) or in adverbial constructions. It is also used to indicate singularity, being optional in conversation when quantity is recoverable.

The NP-marker *-nya* encodes possession, inference or, in some cases, both. However, inference is expressed by *itu* rather than *-nya* when the inferable entity is either (a) the time or place of an event, or (b) inferred from a script (as for instance, a required role) and not construed as possessive.

The use of the demonstratives *itu* and *ini* seems to be conditioned by four factors, which have relative strengths approximated by the following numerical values: (a) exophoric reference: +3; (b) non-restrictive modifier: +3; (c) prior mention: +1; and (d) non-bounded reference: -2. An NP with a positive score will tend to be marked with a demonstrative. The non-restrictive modifier condition may be motivated by a desire to clarify syntactic parsing or to compensate for low NP bondedness.

Non-bounded reference (a property correlating with absence of demonstrative) is comprised of non-specific (generic or non-count) reference and unique reference. The latter property is subject to the following principles: The uniqueness of an entity can be anchored to any relevant experiencer (speaker, hearer, or a third person), and to 'worlds' of varying durations. A given entity's uniqueness status can change with the perspective of, distance from, or relevance to the experiencer.³⁶

Finally, these markers can enter into various literary effects. *Se-*, as an introducer, can reflect cyclical or climactic narrative structures. The three markers can also be used in defamiliarisation and prefamiliarisation.

NOTES

1. Prince (1979) posits three major categories of 'familiar' entities: inferable, evoked (present either in the preceding discourse or the extralinguistic situation) and 'unused'. Section 3.4 of this article touches on the latter.
2. Besides this perhaps unfortunate inclusion, the present analysis makes the following exclusion: that of *se-* when followed by a non-classifier, e.g. *sebentar*, *secepat*.

3. In fact, Karttunen (1968) mentions indefinite predicate nominals in passing, referring to the passage in Bach's "Nouns and noun phrases" (Bach 1968:103-106) where he says that indefinite predicate nominals do not refer to an individual by themselves. In fact, says Karttunen, one must further qualify this: indefinite and non-specific predicate nominals. Under irrealis modes, he says, discourse referents can be created, but they tend to be short-lived, since subsequent references to the same entity can occur only under the same modality.
4. In an earlier draft of this paper, these three kinds of constructions were called 'offstage constructions' because in them the narrator does not bring an entity onto his 'stage' to include it in the events of the story.
5. Morpheme glosses are omitted because they would make the already lengthy examples unwieldy, and it seems that for the purposes of this analysis a free translation will serve. More information about Indonesian structure is retained or noted where crucial.
6. However, there is an exception: the first sentence of *Si Kabayan pergi ke hutan*:

(73) *Si Kabayan seorang pemales.* (H)
Kabayan was a sluggard.

The predicate nominal in (73) encodes a permanent, and unquestioned attribute of Kabayan. By contrast, the unmarked predicate nominals in (1)-(4) represent contingent, hypothetical attributions.

7. The construction below with *sebagai as* is similar to a true comparison, and also tends to take a non-determined nominal:

(74) *Kalau ia tidak bunting oleh aku, ia pun akan bunting oleh anggota pasukan lain di gunung ini, dan mungkin sekali oleh Mawardi yang menawanya dulu sebagai mata-mata.* (K)
If she hadn't got pregnant by me, she would've got pregnant by someone else in the division here on this mountain, quite possibly Mawardi who first caught her as a spy.

8. The status of these exceptional nominals may be like those nominals under irrealis modality which nonetheless do create (short-lived) discourse referents. Subsequent reference to the same entity is indeed possible as long as the discourse remains in a hypothetical key.
9. We have said that *se-* tends to create an individuality, while non-familiar NP's with no determiner refer to a class only. From this it may follow that, under negation, *se-* involves the negation of some individual, particular, or secondary characteristics, while unmarked non-familiar NP's represent complete negation of a class. This might provide an interpretation for the NP underlined below.

(75) *Sebentar kemudian jam berdenting sepuluh kali dan satu pagi yang sempurna di New York dalam "Fluffy Donut" Coffee House akan tidak begitu "beautiful" lagi, sebab jam sepuluh berarti "jamngopi" ... sampai jam sebelas. Dan sesudah itu hari bukan lagi pagi dan "Fluffy Donut" bukan lagi satu warung kopi.* (D)

"Then the clock chimed ten times and a peaceful morning in New York at the "Fluffy Donut" Coffee House was about to become no longer quite so "beautiful", since ten o'clock means "coffee time"... till eleven o'clock. And after that it's not morning any more and the "Fluffy Donut" isn't a coffee shop any more.

If the word *satu* were eliminated from the last sentence of (75), the meaning would be that at eleven o'clock the shop became, say, a discotheque or a gymnasium. That is, the scope of the negative *bukan*, when paired with a non-determined NP, is the entire class "*coffee-shop*". On the other hand, with *satu* as it appears here, the sentence means only that certain particular or secondary features of coffee-shopness have been lost; such as the serving of coffee and donuts.

10. Karttunen says that indefinite NP's in questions and requests are normally interpreted as non-specific. In addition, requests are semantically similar to the class of sentences Karttunen describes in his appendix: those containing verbs like *want*, *need*, etc. What these verbs share, he says, is the ability to take an existitive or possessive clause complement; e.g. "I need (to have) a hammer".
11. It is not clear why the first of these two manner phrases uses *se-* (in this case, *satu*). What is clear is that it would be awkward to use *se-* in the following, parallel phrase, since the newness encoded by *se-* is incompatible with the givenness of *sama just as* (lit. *the same*), and of *-nya*, which also points to some kind of antecedent.
12. Choosing the English grammar of possession as a basis for the comparison with the function of *-nya* is simply an attempt to avoid the circularity of defining a thing in terms of itself. Two potential sources for a more thorough analysis of the possessive role of *-nya* are: (a) the list of Recoverably Deletable Predicates in Levi (1978) and (b) the list of functions of the Greek genitive in Beekman and Callow (1974).
13. There are also cases of non-determined inferable entities:
 - (76) Baru bangun 'ku terus mandi. Jangan lupa menggosok gigi.
As soon as I get up I bathe and don't forget to brush my teeth.
 - (77) Aku berjalan ke arah bilik Sulinah. Ketika aku sampai ke pintu, ia sedang berbaring... (K)
I walked toward Sulinah's room. When I came to the door, she was lying...

The non-marking in (77), according to Dardjowidjojo, would be a result of the 'non-nuclear' position of the NP: it is neither subject nor direct object.

14. Note that both (34) and (35) have generic quality which may affect the choice of determiner.
15. The same response applies to the apparent counterexample in Purwo (1978):
 - (78) Saya masuk ke sebuah restoran. Pelayannya cantik-cantik.
I went into a restaurant. The/their waitresses were good-looking.

16. A certain interpretation of the NP underlined below gives rise to interesting speculations about other functions of -nya.

(79) "Bapak belum melihat perempuannya!" sahutnya seraya memandang ke arahku dengan penuh arti. (K)
"Sir, you haven't seen (a) what a woman she is/ (b) the woman/ (c) his (Mawardi's) woman!" he answered, giving me a meaningful look.

Of the three translations for *perempuannya*, (c) is the simplest: possessive. (b) is based on inference. But (a) is inspired by the idea of emphatic nominalisation, which is exemplified in the following two sentences:

(80) Waktu malam di gunung Sumbing sangat dinginnya. (K)
Night on Mt Sumbing is extremely cold.

(81) "Wah, alangkah baiknya ibu ini. (S)
"My, how nice this mother is."

Morphologically, these underlined words resemble such undisputed nominalisations as *adanya existence* and *tingginya height*, even though they do still behave in a way that seems to be non-noun in translation, like the quotative expressions *katanya, sahutnya*, etc. But the -nya nominalisations of degree adjectives are often *emphatic* in function. This flavour may carry over to *perempuannya* in (79). *Perempuan* in this setting may be somewhat predicate-like; at least its morphology is deverbal.

17. Although *itu* is the more frequent, *ini* can be used in many similar ways, with respect to the constraints outlined in this chapter. Thus they are treated together here. Also, use of demonstratives with pronouns and proper names will be bracketed as a special case, and not treated here.
18. Karttunen, p.20.
19. The word 'modifier' is used because the use of the relative ligature *yang* may not be a requisite.
20. As for the view that demonstratives give closure to heavy NP's, no proposed definition of 'heaviness' (such as number of words or clauses) really accounts for the data. However, it would be interesting to examine those patterns of reference and modification which create the impression that Indonesian texts contain greater nominal redundancy than English texts.
21. Verhaar (1983) applies Foley's Bondedness Hierarchy to Indonesian.
22. (a) The prior mention constraint appears to subsume and even outdo certain other explanations that initially seemed plausible. For example, the data examined for this paper do not support the view that one of the conditioning factors in the use or non-use of a demonstrative is the *case, subjecthood or topichood* of the NP.

One explanation in terms of *case* which initially seems plausible is that demonstratives do not occur in locative or instrumental NP's. Another hypothesis that does not seem necessary or satisfying is that subjects take demonstratives more than other NP's.

While locatives may in fact correlate negatively and subjects positively with demonstratives, it appears that once the four principles proposed here are taken fully into account, there is no explanatory work left over, which *case, subjecthood, or word order* can solve. We have encountered in

texts no data for which subjecthood would be the only explanation. However, Dardjowidjojo states that generic and uniquely salient nominals have the option of taking *itu*, in subject position only.

Verhaar (personal communication) has talked about *itu* having one function as a topic marker. One piece of evidence he offers in support of this claim is that the topic marker *itu* can co-occur with the phoric *itu*, e.g.

(82) *Orang itu itu sakit terus.*

As for that man, he is sick all the time.

Since, (as with Dardjowidjojo's hypothesis) we simply have encountered no data of this kind so far, we trust that the prior mention constraint will handle all the other NP's which Verhaar might prefer to call instances of the topic marker. (Topics, like subjects, tend to be previously mentioned.) Of course, the validity of both of these hypotheses remains for us as an empirical question. Probably both are accurate, but we have not yet seen the need for them in describing the written texts in our corpus.

(b) An earlier draft of this paper was overreacting to the idea that prior mention completely explains the (non-exophoric) use of demonstratives. . It overreacted by completely throwing out prior mention as a conditioning factor. But in fact, the distribution of *ini* and *itu* can be much more effectively explained if one assumes that prior mention *does* correlate with these determiners.

An additional problem with the analysis proposed in that earlier draft is that it attributed to *itu* certain *negative* functions, e.g. the prevention of a generic interpretation. For one thing, this creates the analytical difficulty of second guessing what *might* have been interpreted generically if the demonstrative had been omitted. Moreover, it seems counterintuitive to attribute such preventive meanings to any morpheme, even a function word. When a writer uses the word *father*, it carries a positive impact of its own, and is not used merely to discourage the reader from thinking *mother*.

23. Or later, in the case of cataphoric reference. Our data do not happen to include this possibility.
24. This term comes from Halliday and Hasan (1976).
25. This concept is outlined by Acton (1977) for English article usage.
26. Allan (1980) provides the descriptive framework for this statement.
27. One problematic NP for the non-count reference hypothesis is the following example, which seems to be specific and yet is not marked:

(83) *Aku melihat di berjongkok di dalam air dan badannya sudah tidak berbaju lagi. (K)*
I saw her stooping in the water, and already her body was unclothed.
28. Dardjowidjojo distinguishes as a basis for leaving certain NP's unmarked, uniqueness (e.g. bulan *moon*) and 'unique saliency' (e.g. raja *king*). Likewise, Cartier (this volume) posits such a class of NP's with two main subgroups: locations and groups of people. (This list is expanded in the present analysis.) Prince (1979) has also described a similar class of NP's: those referring to 'unused' entities. These are present in long-term memory of the speaker and hearer, but are not inferable from or evoked by the linguistic or extralinguistic context.

29. Dardjowidjojo gives examples of generic and unique references marked with *itu*, in which the *itu* serves to mark the entire construction as a clause rather than an NP:

(84) *Harimau itu binatang.*
The tiger is an animal.

(85) *Bulan itu bagus.*
The moon is beautiful.

It happens that no clauses of the kind occur in our data.

30. Concerning the temporarily unique entity *baringnya her bed* in (60), it should be said that uniqueness and grammatical possession overlap, but only partially. The unique *matahari sun* is not possessive, and the possessive *pikiranku itu that thought of mine* in example (52) is not unique.
31. (a) This is in contrast to the status of *sarong* in (45). In that passage, the *sarong* he is taking to *Sulinah* must be distinguished from the one he is wearing.

(b) Two nominals deviate from this tendency. Although they would seem to have (temporarily) unique status, they take *itu*. (The first one appears with a fuller context in (60).)

(86) *Tanganku yang mencari tumpuan tersenggol oleh tepi meja dan pistolku terpelanting dari tanganku. Meja bergoyang dan tiba-tiba ruang kamar itu menjadi gelap gulita. (K)*

My hand, which was groping for support, banged against the edge of the table and my pistol was knocked out of my hand. The table wobbled and suddenly the room was pitch black.

(87a) *Sinar pagi ... menerangi kelokan sungai tempat mandi. Aku melihat dia berjongkok di dalam air dan badannya sudah tidak berbaju lagi ... Aku tetap tegak di pinggir kali itu, ketika ia memungut pakaiannya ... (K)*

Morning sunbeams ... had lit up the bend in the river where people bathed. I saw her stooping in the water, and already her body was unclothed ... I stood right there on the bank of the river, while she picked up her clothes ...

The narrator later regrets the morning's lost opportunity:

(87b) *Mengapa perempuan itu tidak kubunuh tadi di kali? (K)*
Why didn't I kill that woman today at the river?

One possible explanation for the unexpected *itu* in (86) is the 'emotive' function posited by Lakoff (1974), as in the English exclamation: "And can you imagine — that crazy room went pitch black!"

(87) presents an even more serious problem, since it exactly reverses the perspective hypothesis formulated here. When the object is close, *itu* appears, and when the object is distant, the noun is unmarked. It may be that *itu* is not used in (87b) because it would imply something false: that only that river was an appropriate place to kill *Sulinah*.

32. The possibility that perspective, and hence uniqueness can change may explain some of the variation Cartier encounters in the definiteness marking of singular, specific, concrete objects (especially when each mention uses the same lexeme).

33. (a) It is also true that the change to *hutan itu* occurs when the forest has become, for the first and only time in the text, a discourse topic in itself (at the opening of a brief digression about the forest). This is not, however, what Verhaar intends by 'topic', since the NP is not in sentence-initial position. (See note 22a).
 (b) A similar contrast obtains between *gunung* (whatever mountains are nearest to a given participant, and thus seen as unique in his world) and *gunung ini* (which always refers to Mt Sumbing) in K.
34. A similar NP is *mataku* which can mean *my eyes*, where duality is irrelevant.
35. *Ostranenie* is also translated as *the device of making strange, estrangement or dishabituation*. It involves the "accurate notation of phenomena without any concern for their meaning" (Stacy 1977).
36. It is worth noting that there are similarities between (a) the factors governing uniqueness of entities in a text, (b) the factors governing sectioning or paragraphing in a text, and (c) the factors that can constitute basic cohesion systems for texts. All three lists include place, time, person and perspective. (a) is treated in this paper, (b) is surveyed in McCune (1980), (c) is touched on in Givón (1979), and has been elaborated on by Becker (personal communication).

SOURCES OF DATA

- (K) *Kejantanan di Sumbing*: Subagio Sastrowidjojo
- (H) *Si Kabayan pergi ke hutan*: Ajip Rosidi
- (M) *Si Kabayan dengan mertuanya*: Ajip Rosidi
- (S) *Senja di Jakarta*: Mochtar Lubis
- (Y) *Yang hitam*: Pramudya Ananta Tur
- (D) *Secangkir kopi dan sepotang donat*: Umar Kayam

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THE REDUCTIVE SYSTEM OF AN INDONESIAN DIALECT: A STUDY OF IRIAN JAYA CASE

Ignatius Suharno

1. INTRODUCTION

The Irian dialect of Indonesian is one of a great number of dialects constituting Bahasa Indonesia. As with any other language name, Bahasa Indonesia is an ambiguous denomination: it is used generically as well as specifically. The latter use is clearly stated in the Indonesian Constitution, which says that the state, i.e. official, language is Bahasa Indonesia. Inevitably, the constitutional accommodation is for the standard variety only. As far as Stewart's classification (Stewart 1968:531-545) goes, the Irian variety is also autonomous. As such, it is a dialect as well as a vernacular. Thus, using his abbreviations, we might as well call it a VD.

A study of the variety reveals that there are formal differences between it and the standard Indonesian. One of the significant differences which seems to be shared among non-standard varieties of Indonesian is the reduction characteristic of the dialect but not of the standard type (see Kridalaksana 1975).

The reductive characteristics are reflected in the phonology, morphology, and syntax. The phonological trait involves, among other things, omission of certain vowels and consonants, and in some cases also lowering of certain vowels. The morphological peculiarity is manifested by the use of phonemes not normally used in the standard variety, loan forms, and local entries, which generally reflect a cultural contribution. The use of grammatical markers in a way not known in the standard variety makes it distinct from the former.

This paper is a restatement of a previous study (Suharno 1978). There are only a few other descriptions of the subject, namely Roosman (1977), Silzer (1978), and Samaun (1979). The paucity of interest in the dialect is interesting, because due to the linguistic heterogeneity of Irian Jaya the dialect had been accepted as a lingua franca long before Bahasa Indonesia as the state language was introduced in the province. The role of the dialect as an introductory bridge to the use of standard forms is thus significant, if not beneficial.

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.4: *Thematic variation*, 101-111. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-77, 1983.

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2. THE DIALECT vs THE STANDARD VARIETY

Kridalaksana (1975) outlined several features of standard Indonesian, a language which serves as a medium of communication in a context that is official, technical, public, and formal. His elaborations, however, were limited to grammatical and lexical differences. These function constraints seem to fit in with the criteria of the standard variety as the state language. It is also questionable whether there are any Indonesians who use the standard variety at all times.

The dialect under study is spoken in Jayapura, the provincial capital of Irian Jaya. It is spoken every day by the older generation as well as the younger generation of Irianese. In some cases the children's mastery of the dialect is better than their mastery of the first language of their parents.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 High vs low

Where a higher vowel is predominant in a standard variety form, a lower vowel of the dialect tends to occur.

i vs e			
(1)	kasih	vs kase	<i>give</i>
(2)	læbih	vs lebe	<i>more</i>
(3)	bikin	vs beken	<i>make</i>
u vs o			
(4)	tau	vs tao	<i>know</i>
(5)	læmbut	vs lombo	<i>soft</i>
ə vs a			
(6)	sənaŋ	vs sanaŋ	<i>happy</i>
(7)	sədikit	vs sadeke	<i>little bit</i>

2.1.2 Schwa in standard Indonesian vs other vowels of dialect

In initial and interconsonantal positions, where schwa would occur in the standard variety, *ɛ*, *e*, or, less frequently, *o* would occur in the dialect.

(8)	mas	vs emas	<i>gold</i>
(9)	bərsama	vs bərsama	<i>together</i>
(10)	bərat	vs bərat	<i>heavy</i>
(11)	tənaŋ	vs tenaŋ	<i>calm</i>
(12)	gəde	vs gode	<i>big</i>

2.1.3 Diphthong in standard Indonesian vs simple vowel

The dialect utilises no diphthong. Where a diphthong occurs in a word of standard variety, a simple vowel nearest to the glide of such a diphthong takes its place in the dialect word.

(13)	kau	vs ko	<i>you</i>
(14)	kalau	vs kalo or kalu	<i>if</i>
(15)	saudara	vs sodara or sudara	<i>brother</i>
(16)	sampai	vs sampe	<i>until</i>
(17)	pantai	vs pante	<i>beach</i>
(18)	pakai	vs pake	<i>use</i>

2.1.4 The standard h vs ø of the dialect in word-initial position

Where h occurs in word-initial position in the standard Indonesian, a zero may be substituted in the dialect.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|----|--------------|------------------|
| (19) | hutan | vs | utan or utaŋ | <i>forest</i> |
| (20) | hari | vs | ari | <i>day</i> |
| (21) | hilan | vs | ilan | <i>disappear</i> |
| (22) | hancur | vs | ancor | <i>shattered</i> |
| (23) | habis | vs | abes | <i>finished</i> |

2.1.5 Fluctuation of h and ø in word-final position

Where in the standard variety h occurs in word-final position, a zero may be substituted in the dialect. On the other hand, where standard Indonesian has an open syllable, the dialect may add h to this syllable. In the writing of many of our informants, this fluctuation is frequently reflected by the use of h when it should not be there and the absence of it when it should be.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|----|------|-------------------|
| (24) | jauh | vs | jau | <i>far</i> |
| (25) | mudah | vs | muda | <i>easy</i> |
| (26) | gigih | vs | gigi | <i>persistent</i> |
| (27) | kasih | vs | kasi | <i>give</i> |

but

- | | | | | |
|------|------|----|-------|--------------|
| (28) | muda | vs | mudah | <i>young</i> |
| (29) | sewa | vs | sewah | <i>hire</i> |
| (30) | gigi | vs | gigih | <i>tooth</i> |
| (31) | suka | vs | sukah | <i>like</i> |

Sometimes the fluctuation may result, to speakers of standard Indonesian, in misunderstanding:

- | | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| (32) | Ia melawan dengan *giginya |
| | <i>He fought with his teeth.</i> |

because the standard Indonesian expression would be:

- | | |
|------|--------------------------------|
| (33) | Ia melawan dengan gigihnya |
| | <i>He fought persistently.</i> |

2.1.6 Fluctuation of n and ŋ in word-final position

Where n occurs in word-final position in the standard variety, the dialect substitutes ŋ in the same position. On the other hand, though less frequently, where ŋ occurs word finally in standard Indonesian, the dialect uses n in the same position. This is also reflected in writing.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|----|-------|------------------|
| (34) | asin | vs | asiŋ | <i>salty</i> |
| (35) | makan | vs | makaŋ | <i>eat</i> |
| (36) | lain | vs | laen | <i>different</i> |

but

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----|---------|-------------------------|
| (37) | melayan | vs | malayan | <i>float</i> |
| (38) | binatan | vs | binatan | <i>animal</i> |
| (39) | asiŋ | vs | asin | <i>strange, foreign</i> |

Again, as in 2.1.5, the semantic change resulting from this fluctuation may produce an unexpected effect:

(40) Dorang ditangka dan *diasinkan
vs the standard Indonesian sentence:

(41) Dia ditangkap dan diasingkan
He was seized and banned

2.1.7 Omission of t, k, and l

For some standard Indonesian words that end in t, k, or l, the dialect equivalents omit these consonants. This is sometimes also reflected in writing.

(42) baik	vs bae	<i>good</i>
(43) sèdikit	vs sadeke or sadiki	<i>little bit</i>
(44) mèmanggil	vs mamangi	<i>call</i>
(45) tidak	vs tida	<i>not</i>
(46) laut	vs lau or lao	<i>sea</i>

2.1.8 Fluctuation of f and p

Where standard Indonesian uses p in intervocalic position, the dialect may, in some words and for some speakers, use f.

(47) kəpala vs kefala *head, chief*
(48) lapar vs lafar *hungry*

Among some informants, fluctuation of p with b also occurs:

(49) bəragu (SI) vs peregu (D) *in groups*
(50) pəroraŋan (SI) vs beoraŋan (D) *individually*

Among some other informants, fluctuations of r and l; and p, t, k with b, d, and g respectively also occur.

2.2 Morphology

In a number of words derived from standard Indonesian, there is a tendency to reduce their size to smaller and simpler forms for easier articulation.

(SI)		(D)		(D)	
(51) sudah	vs	su	or	so	<i>already</i>
(52) pergi	vs	pigi	or	pi	<i>go</i>
(53) engkau	vs	ko			<i>you</i>
(54) punya	vs	puŋ	or	pu	<i>have, own</i>

Some of the pre-reduction forms may not be acceptable standard Indonesian forms:

(SI)		(D)		(D)	
(55) *kita oraŋ		kitoraŋ	or	kitəŋ	<i>we</i>
(56) *dia oraŋ		doraŋ	or	dəŋ	<i>he, she, they</i>

For standard Indonesian speakers, the following sentence will mean *Where is the coffee?*:

(57) kopimana

while it really means: *Where are you going?*

2.3 Lexicon

There are many vocabulary items that are unique to the dialect. These lexical items are of three types: those that are distinct because of cultural difference; those that are loan words; and those independent innovations or loan words which have undergone semantic change. Only a limited number of those words can be found in such a standard dictionary as Poerwadarminta (1976).

2.3.1 Culturally unique words

(58)	forna	<i>sago bread mould</i>
(59)	maitua	<i>wife</i>
(60)	mambruk	<i>crowd pigeon</i>
(61)	matoa	<i>kind of fruit</i>
(62)	koteka	<i>penis gourd</i>
(63)	noken	<i>string bag</i>
(64)	paitua	<i>the boss, husband</i>
(65)	urip	<i>king of bird</i>
(66)	mayari	<i>try to find a mate</i>
(67)	sekan	<i>plaited armband</i>
(68)	seman	<i>outrigger</i>
(69)	kabila	<i>chest</i>

2.3.2 Loan words

(70)	petatas (Latin)	<i>sweet potato</i>
(71)	pace (Dutch)	<i>guy, Mister</i>
(72)	roksoe (Dutch)	<i>bad, unlucky</i>
(73)	tripan (Indonesian)	<i>sea cucumber</i>
(74)	sombar (Ambon)	<i>shade</i>
(75)	triton (Latin)	<i>conch shell</i>

2.3.3 Loan words with semantic change

(76)	matajalan	<i>intersection (D); observer, lookout (SI)</i>
(77)	tempo	<i>early (D); time, period (SI)</i>
(78)	kmuka	<i>earlier (D); (go, come, etc.) to the front (SI)</i>
(79)	langgar	<i>meet, overtake (D); violate, collide (SI)</i>
(80)	bapa ade	<i>uncle (D); phrase non-existent in SI</i>
(81)	bapa mantu	<i>father-in-law (D); phrase non-existent in SI</i>
(82)	spolo lagi saprampa	<i>fifteen minutes to ten (D); non-existent in SI</i>
(83)	balabo	<i>park (for a car), stop, rest (D); berlabuh cast anchor (SI)</i>

2.4 Grammar

One of the most salient features of the dialect in contrast to standard Indonesian is its tendency to omit such verbal prefixes as *bər-* and *məN-*. When it does occur, however, the prefix *bər-* tends to be reduced to *ba-* or, less frequently, *bə-*.

The dialect also employs prefix *ta-* to express an adjective or a verb, which in standard Indonesian may be expressed by the use of different prefixes, i.e. *tər-* and *bər-*.

In many other cases the dialect tends to use words that would be redundant in standard Indonesian, where a synthetical construction is preferred. Still in other cases words that would function differently in standard Indonesian are used in the dialect to mark certain types of sentences or clauses. Word order unlike that in standard Indonesian is sometimes also used in the dialect.

2.4.1 Omission of prefixes

The omission of prefixes, and sometimes also suffixes, in the dialect qualifies it as a non-standard Indonesian (Kridalaksana 1975:15). There is no way to predict which *ber-* or *maN-* verb construction tends to undergo the omission. One of the most frequently used verbs is *bilang say* in such constructions as *dorang bilang he, she they, we say: mama bilang mother says*, where standard Indonesian would use *ia berkata* and *ibu berkata* or *ibu mengatakan*. Other prefixes, e.g. *di-*, *ter-*, are sometimes also omitted.

Examples:

- (84) a. siapa yang piara itu binatang (D)
 b. siapa yang memelihara binatang itu (SI)
 Who owns those animals?
- (85) a. saya rasa sadi betul (D)
 b. saya merasa sedih betul (SI)
 I really feel sorry.
- (86) a. ini tong sampah ukuran raksasa tara bisa angka dua orang (D)
 b. tong sampah ukuran raksasa ini tidak bisa diangkat oleh dua orang (SI)
 This huge garbage bin cannot be moved by two men.

2.4.2 The use of *ta-*

- (87) a. rodaña mase taputar (D)
 b. rodaña masih berputar (SI)
 The wheel is still spinning.
- (88) a. dorang tabale dan lia itu ruma (D)
 b. dia berbalik dan melihat rumah itu (SI)
 He turns around and sees the house.
- (89) a. macam tataruga tabale (D)
 b. seperti kura kura terbalik (SI)
 like a tortoise turned upside down

2.4.3 Phrasal markers

Such words as *ada be*, *bekang make*, *kasi give*, and *puña have, own* are among the most frequently used to mark certain dialect phrases.

2.4.3.1 The word *ada*

This word is inserted between subject and the verb related to it. The phrasal verb it forms expresses a progressive aspect.

- (90) a. *doraŋ ada pi dipasar* (D)
 b. *dia (sədan) pərgi kəpasar* (SI)
He is going to the market.
- (91) a. *meme ada makaŋ di dalam* (D)
 b. *meme (sədan) makan di dalam* (SI)
Meme is eating inside.

2.4.3.2 The word *bekəŋ*

This word is used in the dialect before another word to form a phrasal verb. The standard equivalent is normally expressed by a synthetical construction.

- (92) a. *doraŋ bekeŋ mati itu mətər* (D)
 b. *məreka məmatikan mətər itu* (SI)
They stopped the engine.
- (93) a. *jaŋ bekeŋ abes itu papəda* (D)
 b. *jaŋan habiskan papəda itu* (SI)
Don't finish up the sago porridge.

2.4.3.3 The word *kasi*

This word is used before another word to form a causative phrasal verb. The standard equivalent is a verb of synthetical construction.

- (94) a. *doraŋ kasi nae itu baraŋ* (D)
 b. *məreka mənaikkan baraŋ itu* (SI)
- (95) a. *jaŋ kasi tinggal sampe tamba takaruan*
 b. *jaŋan ditinggalkan sampai mənjadi tidak karuan*
Do not leave it, lest it should go wild.

2.4.3.4 The word *puña*

The word *puña* is sometimes used after an adjective or words or phrases which function as such. It is used as an emphasis.

- (96) a. *ini dari luar nəgri puña* (D)
 b. *ini dari luar nəgri* (SI)
This is from overseas.
- (97) a. *dia puŋ bau tara bae puña* (D)
 b. *bauña tidak baik* (SI)
It smells bad.

2.4.4 Clause type markers

The dialect employs certain words to mark certain type of clauses or sentences. These words have different functions in standard Indonesian. Some of these are *sudah* (SI) *already*, which is never shortened to *so* or *su* (cf. 2.2); *baru* (SI) *new, just, still*; and *trus* (SI *tərus*) *go on, continue*.

2.4.4.1 The word sudah

This word is used as an imperative marker or, in some cases, an emphatic marker. Used in this way, it always occurs at the end of an utterance.

- (98) a. ko pi sudah (D)
 b. pəgilah kau (SI)
 Go away.
- (99) a. itu sudah (D)
 b. ya itulah dia (SI)
 That's really it.

2.4.4.2 The word baru

This word is used as a contradictive marker. It occurs at the end of the clause or sentence it marks.

- (100) a. tara laku baru mau stelstel lagi (D)
 b. sudah tidak baik masih bərgaya juga (SI)
 Despite (her) poor performance, she still put on airs.
- (101) a. so cape baru disuru pi dipasar (D)
 b. sudah capai masih juga disuruh pəgi kəpasar (SI)
 Despite (my) being tired, I have to go to the market.

2.4.4.3 The word trus

This word is used at the end of a clause or sentence to mark a completive aspect.

- (102) a. dia pi trus (D)
 b. dia sudah pəgi (SI)
 He has already gone.

2.4.5 Word order

2.4.5.1 The word of a possessive construction in standard Indonesian is Head + Poss. The word order in the dialect is Poss + puña + Head.

- (103) a. doraŋ pu buku (D)
 b. bukuña (SI)
 His book.
- (104) a. dia puŋ doi (D)
 b. duitña (SI)
 His money.

2.4.5.2 The word order of a definitive construction in standard Indonesian is Head + Det. The dialect word order is Det + Head.

- (105) a. itu oraŋ (D)
 b. oraŋ itu (SI)
 that man
- (106) a. ini ruma (D)
 b. rumah ini (SI)
 this house

2.4.5.3 The word order of a standard Indonesian sentence is S-V-O. Some of the informants tend to express sentences in S-O-V order.

- (107) a. sayah ini mau minum (D)
 b. saya mau minum ini (SI)
I like to drink this.

2.5 Sample text

The following is a sample text of the dialect, an article published in a local weekly. It is followed by a standard Indonesian equivalent and an English translation. The article is a social jab written by the editor.

JAYAPURA PUNG CERITA: NENE DORKAS BICARA BAHASA SETENGAH-SETENGAH

Waktu Nene Dorkas kaluar negeri dia pung bahasa lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang kembali ke kitong pung tanah ini, eeh..., dia pung bicara so laen lagi.

Waktu dia turun dari taxi dan mau bayar, dia mulai bilang "how much", (berapa harganya?) Sopir bilang: "Cuma seratus saja ibu". Nene Dorkas mulai balas lagi: "Maar ik punya uang besar, tien duizend (sepuluh ribu)". Sopir taxi kaget lalu bicara sandiri diam2: "Ibu ini, tadi baru bilang pake bahasa Inggris, sekarang dia bilang deng bahasa laen, macam bahasa Belanda kah! Mungkin dia pung tete orang Inggris deng nene orang Belanda, tetapi dia pung bentuk sama saja deng orang Indonesia".

Kemudian dia kasi kembali nene Dorkas pung uang: "Terima kasi bu." Tante Dorkas balas: "Tankyu (terima kasih)".

Panumpang taxi deng sopir pung kaget, deng mulai bilang, waktu taxi su bajalang. "Kalau bicara bahasa itu jangan setengah2" "dan kalau mau bicara bahasa luar negeri itu, bicara buat orang luar negeri saja, kitorang ini orang Indonesia, baru dia kira kitong orang luar negeri lagi." Lalu satu orang penumpang mulai tambah lagi: "Iyo, dia sendiri orang Indonesia asli baru biking diri macam keturunan luar negeri kah. Rupanya dia pung mental Indonesia tara tau bagemana. Tara laku baru mau stel-stel lagi!!!"

(Berita Karya, January 24, 1977, p.3).

CERITERA DARI JAYAPURA: NENEK DORKAS BERBAHASA SETENGAH-SETENGAH

Waktu Nenek Dorkas pergi ke luar negeri bahasa Indonesiannya lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang ke tanah air kita ini, eeh..., lagaknya sudah lain.

Waktu dia turun dari taxi dan mau membayar, dia mulai berkata: "How much?" Sopir menjawab: "Cuma seratus saja Ibu." Nenek Dorkas mulai bicara lagi: "Maar ik punya uang besar, tien duizend." Sopir taxi terkejut dan berkata dalam hati: "Ibu ini, tadi baru saja berbicara dalam bahasa Inggris, sekarang dia berbahasa lain lagi, mungkin bahasa Belanda? Mungkin kakeknya orang Inggris dan neneknya orang Belanda, tetapi tubuhnya seperti orang Indonesia saja."

Kemudian dia memberikan uang kembali kepada Nenek Dorkas: "Terima kasih Bu." Tante Dorkas menjawab: "Tankyu."

Penumpang taxi dan sopir pun terkejut, dan mulai berbicara waktu taxi sudah berjalan. "Kalau berbahasa itu jangan setengah-setengah. Dan kalau mau berbahasa asing itu untuk orang asing saja. Kita ini

orang Indonesia, tetapi dikiranya orang asing?" Lalu seorang penumpang menambahkan: "Ya, dia sendiri orang Indonesia tetapi berlagak seperti orang asing. Bagaimana mental Indonesianya? Sudah tidak baik masih berlagak juga."

JAYAPURA STORY: GRANDMA DORKAS SPEAKS INCONSISTENTLY

When Grandma Dorkas went overseas, she spoke Indonesian fluently. But when she returned home, her language was different.

When she got off a taxi and wanted to pay her fare, she asked in English: "How much?" The driver said: "Only one hundred, Ma'am". Grandma Dorkas continued, in Dutch: But I have large cash here, ten thousand." The driver was surprised and said to himself: "This woman had just spoken in English, now she was speaking in ... was it Dutch? Perhaps her grandfather was English and her grandmother was Dutch, but she looks Indonesian all right."

Then he gave her the change and said, in Indonesian: "Thank you, Ma'am." Aunt Dorkas answered, in English: "Thank you."

The other passengers and the driver were startled. They began talking when the car started running again. "When you speak, speak consistently. Use a foreign language to foreigners only. We are all Indonesians, yet she spoke to us in a foreign language." Another passenger added: "Yes, she is an Indonesian, but acted like a foreigner. I don't know what has happened to her Indonesian self-respect. It was bad, but she put on airs anyway."

3. CONCLUSION

It seems that, except for the cultural contribution and influences of the local Irian languages, there are consistent formal differences between the Irian dialect and the standard Indonesian. In view of the fact that the dialect has functioned as a lingua franca for a long time and that it is the first language for an increasing number of the young generation, it will not only tend to last for a long time to come, but it also deserves serious attention and further research. The need seems even more urgent if it is correct to assume that the dialect, and not the numerous unrelated local languages, presents less interference for the acquisition of the standard Indonesian.

The unique characteristics of the dialect may have resulted from the interference of the specific ethnic language properties. The characteristics are mostly reflected in the simplification of the dialect forms, very probably to facilitate expression. Other characteristics which seem difficult to identify except in a list are mostly local and cultural contributions.

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SUBJECT CASE MARKERS AND WORD ORDER IN NEW CALEDONIA AND LOYALTY ISLANDS LANGUAGES

Claire Moyse-Faurie
Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre

1. INTRODUCTION

The comparative study of Oceanic languages, which began with phonological reconstruction, has widened its scope in recent years to include word order and syntactic typology. For the New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages, Haudricourt (1971:393) proposed that an original verb-initial word order developed into the diverse orders found in the modern languages. Against the background of this hypothesis we have undertaken a study of a more detailed aspect of the syntax of this group of languages, the markings of subject nominals, not only from a typological point of view but with the aim of ascertaining the origin of the markers themselves. In the present paper,¹ we present a survey of subject marking and word order in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, along with relevant information on verb classes, transitivity, and determination, all of which play a role in the morphosyntax of subject marking.

The languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands show considerable typological diversity, both in phonology (Haudricourt 1971) and in syntax. On the basis of word order, we can distinguish four major groups among the New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages (cf. map):

1. VOS unmarked word order languages, with an embedded subject person-marker in the verb phrase (languages of the North, of the Centre, and of the South as far as (and including) Ajië; one language of the Loyalty Islands: Iaai of Uvea). The embedded person-marker is retained in topicalised SVO sentences.
2. A small transitional group (South: Xârâcùù, Tîrî, Xârâgurè) where two orders are found: VOS as in the first group, or SVO without subject person-marker in the verb phrase, as in type 3. The texts available in these languages are insufficient for syntactic study.
3. SVO word order languages without embedded person-marker in the verb phrase (languages of the extreme South). Since these languages have no subject marker, they will not be discussed further here.

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4. Mixed-order languages with tense dependent case marking and no embedded person-marker in the verb phrase (the other two languages of the Loyalty Islands: Drehu and Nengone).²

In New Caledonia languages with a VOS word order, nominal subjects may be preceded by a case marker. In some languages, this marker is always required. In others, its presence is correlated with various factors, e.g. type of verb (transitive or intransitive) or type of nominal subject (proper or common noun, animate or inanimate). Thus, we find languages with an accusative type (e.g. Ajië), or an ergative type (e.g. Kumak), or with a split ergative (e.g. Nemi). Unlike the subject-final languages cited by Keenan (1978), none of these languages has a passive.

Besides their different uses, the subject markers are formally quite different; this makes their etymology very puzzling and leads us to consider that they have several different origins. In languages of the North, the subject markers may take the possessive suffixes for each person and seem to have a lexical origin. In languages of the Centre, as in Cèmuhi,³ one of the markers seems to be a relic of an old personal article.

In the Loyalty Islands, the situation is clearer, at least for one marker found in all three languages: hne-, which has an attested lexical origin ('place of, result of an action') and appears mainly in past tense sentences. However, Nengone has another subject marker of uncertain origin.

We shall present separately the languages of New Caledonia and of the Loyalty Islands. Before dealing with the problem of case marking, we shall give the main grammatical features of these languages.

2. VOS WORD ORDER NEW CALEDONIA LANGUAGES

The grammatical structures of these languages show many similarities in verb phrase constituents, word order, determination (head + modifier), transitivity and treatment of the subject.

The main divergences are in the number of pronominal series distinguished in each language, and in the nominal subject case markers.

We shall present the main outlines of these different points.

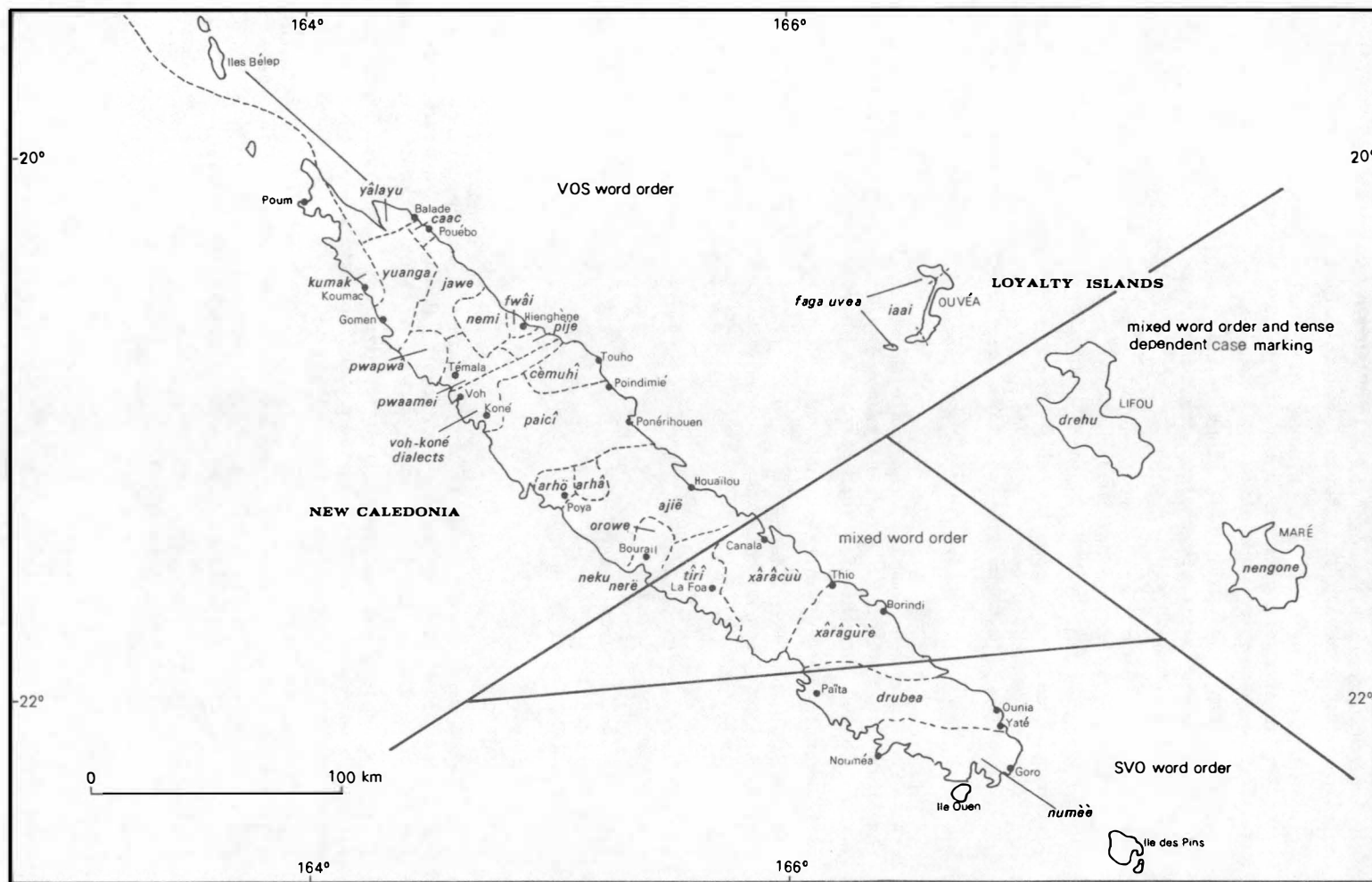
2.1 Active clause structure and word order

2.1.1 The structure of an active clause is:

- (1) intransitive verb : sV ((sm) S)
- (2) transitive verb : sV (-tr) (O) (sm S)⁴

These two formulae show that:

- the verb phrase includes at least a verb base preceded by an embedded pronominal subject marker which agrees in person and generally in number with the nominal subject.
- some transitive verbs carry a transitive suffix which is deleted when the object is a pronoun or a proper noun (cf. 2.7.1.2).
- the expression of nominal subject and object is always optional. Transitive verbs, as will be seen in the presentation of verb classes, are always 'oriented', and refer to a determined object, even when the nominal object is not present (cf. 2.7).
- the nominal subject may be introduced by a case marker and when both nominal object and subject are present, the least marked word order is VOS.



MAP 1: New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages

- KUM (3) i ko vine ea ciixa
*he/run after/rat/sm/octopus/
 The octopus runs after the rat.* (Haudricourt 1963:28)
- NEM (4) yelu am u fe vi hyaok ru maali hnook
*they du/ass/perf/take/the/child/sm/the du/woman/
 The two women took the child.*
- JAW (5) delu ra u pwia di knek (w)e deuli hnemo
*they du/ass/perf/open/the/oven/sm/the du/woman/
 The two women opened the oven.*
- CEM (6) lē cēí mwo ā-li táí (w)ɔ lēpwō-jɛ
*they/pull/again/the-def/rope/sm/these/
 These men pull the rope again.* (Rivierre: Textes inédits)
- AJI (7) curu bōri tō pwērē mērē dō ɣi-ə na deo ɣə boeua
*they du/then/stay/listen/sound/flute/of-him/sm/two girls/from/Boeua/
 Two girls from Boeua stay to listen to the sound of the flute.*
 (Leenhardt 1932:190)

2.1.2 As shown in these examples, the tense/aspect markers usually follow the preverbal pronominal subject. Other terms may be placed before or after the verb. The expanded formula of a verb phrase is in most languages:

(8) s+(asp)+(adv)+V+(adv)+(-tr)and/or(o)+(loc)+(again)+(dir)

- KUM (9) na u phee-yo da-me
*I/perf/take-you/up-come/
 I brought you up.*
- NEM (10) ye am u pmwai bwari-ek
*he/ass/perf/do/well-him/
 He treated him well.*
- CEM (11) ē cáa pée-ɛŋ daa-mwo-be
*he/perf/take-him/up-again-come/
 He brought him up again.*

2.2 Topicalisation

2.2.1 The least marked word order is VOS, but in all of these languages we may find a VSO word order, for emphasis or contrast. However, the preferred position of the topic is before the verb phrase, with or without a topic marker.

Thus, the subject may be topicalised by fronting, as may any other direct or indirect object complement (already mentioned, or known), or adverbial complement (giving a temporal or spatial framework in which the action takes place).

- JAW (12) phwâvo khôôk xe ra hma-ra-mwa khoe keli di paik
*as for/heron/he/ass/arrive-up-again/once more/spear/the/stone
 As for the heron, he climbs again to spear the stone.*
- (13) phwâvo le gaahwaak delu ra hen
*as for/in/morning/they du/ass/go/
 In the morning, they go.*

- NEM (14a) pmwavo (ru) vi hnook kaavo o ye tena veli thon hago
as for/(sm)/the/woman/Kaavo/and/she/hear/the/sound/flute/
As for the woman Kaavo, she hears the sound of the flute.
- (14b) maali hnook // yelu am ta-me
the du/woman//they du/ass/go up-come/
The two women, they come climbing up.
- (15) pmwavo kavuagoa // wo u kaa-ek
as for/Kavuagoa//I/perf/kill-him/
Kavuagoa, I killed him.
- (16) vi naapa ne do // ye u thebii bwa-n ru kavuagoa
the/mother/of/you//he/perf/break/head-hers/sm/Kavuagoa/
Your mother, Kavuagoa broke her head.
- CEM (17) 5 lēpw5 ājīēnū-ŋ kā lé ábé
topic/the masc pl/brother-my/and/they/come/
My brothers, they come. (Rivierre:208)
- AJI (18) pani-na, wε, na vi-rru
mother-my/'pause'/she/sew/
My mother, she sews. (Fontinelle:193)

2.2.2 All these topicalised complements, except the adverbial ones (13), leave behind them a pronominal copy: pronominal subject marker (12) (14) (17) (18), pronominal object (15), possessive suffix (16).

In Cèmuhi (17), the subject case marker (w)ɔ is also the topic marker and the topic is always followed by a co-ordinate clause introduced by ka.

In the other languages, the subject marker does not function as a topic marker. It never appears at the beginning of the sentence, before a subject (or other element) topicalised by fronting. In Nemi, the subject marker ru may appear (although it is usually dropped) with a topicalised subject after the optional topic marker pmwavo (14a). Perhaps this is because the topic marker has a verbal origin (pmwa do, vo with the result that).

2.3 Determination and possessive constructions

In harmony with the VOS word order, the order of determination is Head + Modifier.

In possessive constructions, we can generally distinguish between an inalienable possession (head + possessive suffix or noun phrase) and an alienable possession (head + preposition + possessor).⁵ Eatable (or drinkable) possession appears in most languages as an appositional phrase, where the thing eaten (or drunk) is a specifier of the generic noun which precedes it. These classifiers belong themselves to the inalienable noun class (cf. 2.3.4).

2.3.1 Inalienable possession

- | | | |
|----------|------------------|------------------------------|
| KUM (19) | shii-n | shii ciixa |
| | <i>hand-his/</i> | <i>hand/octopus/</i> |
| | <i>his hand</i> | <i>the octopus' tentacle</i> |

- NEM (20) bwa-n bwa vi hnook
 head-his/ head/the/woman/
 his head the woman's head
- CEM (21) pūnī-n pūnī ē tóomwó
 head-his/ head/the/woman/
 his head the woman's head
- AJI (22) pani-na pani manu
 mother-my/ mother/Manu/
 my mother Manu's mother

2.3.2 Alienable possession (or other nominal determinant marked by a preposition)

- KUM (23) kuvic kuviy i e
 yam yam/of/him/
 his yam
- NEM (24) kuuk kuuk ne ek
 yam yam/of/him/
 his yam
- CEM (25) á mó á mó tɛ-n á mó hê-n
 pole pole/to-his/ pole/in-its/
 his pole its pole (of a house)
- cínú cínú kó-ŋ
 illness illness/on-my/
 my illness
- AJI (26) baikɛ baikɛ ɣi-na baikɛ i mareko
 bag bag/of-me/ bag/of/Mareko/
 my bag Mark's bag

2.3.3 Juxtaposed determination

- KUM (27) âlô ak mwa hwooc
 child/male/ house/trap/
 boy trap-cage
- NEM (28) da ceek bwek hnook
 spear/wood/ flying/fox/woman/
 wooden spear female flying fox
- CEM (29) èlè mágát bwēlē bà-àcùut
 basket/shrimp/ war club/piece-wood/
 shrimp basket; basket of shrimp wooden war club
- AJI (30) baikɛ kwijɛi ɔyaari wi?
 bag/banana/ child/male/
 bag full of bananas boy

2.3.4 Appositional determination

As mentioned above, appositional phrases are used in several languages to designate the food (and sometimes the drink) possessed: classifier (inalienable) + specifier.⁶

- | | | | |
|-----|------|---|-----------------------------|
| KUM | (31) | caa-n kuvic | khoo-n nok |
| | | <i>starchy food-his/yam/</i> | <i>meat-his/fish/</i> |
| | | <i>his yam (to eat)</i> | <i>his fish (to eat)</i> |
| NEM | (32) | caa-ŋ kuuk | knudoo-n we |
| | | <i>starchy food-my/yam/</i> | <i>drink-his/water/</i> |
| | | <i>my yam (to eat)</i> | <i>his water (to drink)</i> |
| CEM | (33) | ni ē-ru cáámwó | |
| | | <i>the neut pl/starchy food-our du incl/banana/</i> | |
| | | <i>our bananas (to eat)</i> | |
| | | ā uu-m nōonī | |
| | | <i>the neut/salad-your/spinach/</i> | |
| | | <i>your spinach (to eat)</i> | (Rivierre:167) |

2.4 Prepositions of lexical origin

These languages have very few true prepositions. It is mostly inalienable nouns which are used instead.

Thus, in Kumak, *shii-n his hand* is used to indicate the goal:

- KUM (34) ôda-me shii-n
climb up-come/hand-his
climb up towards him
- (35) khaabwe shii-n
say/hand-his/
say to him

In Nemi, *hi-n his hand* is used to indicate the beneficiary (36), *dai-n his back* gives *tai-n behind him* (37):

- NEM (36) na hi-n
give/hand-his/
give to him
- (37) hen tai-n
go/behind-his/
go behind him

In Cèmuhi, the preposition *tē-n*, which introduces the possessor (cf. 25), also indicates the addressee or the beneficiary, and clearly comes from an inalienable noun *dē-n his property, his goods*:

- CEM (38) ā mwà tē-n
the/house/to-his/
his house

(39) pī tɛ-n
say/to-his/
say to him

(40) né tɛ-n
give/to-his/
give to him

These data showing the lexical origin of some prepositions are to be kept in mind, for we will see that in several languages of the North, the subject markers which introduce the lexical subject may also take the possessive suffixes as pronominal substitutes for the subject.

2.5 Possessed verbs

Finally, in several of these languages, we find a small group of subjective or psychological verbs which take the same possessive suffixes as inalienable nouns. Their nominal origin is clear, but they differ from nouns in that they may function by themselves as complete statements:

KUM (41) aua-n *he wants, his will*

NEM (42) name-n *he wants, his heart*

neu-n *he dreams, his dream* < nep *dream*

made-n *he is hungry* < manet *starvation*

CEM (43) nímé-n *he wants, his will*

niū-n *he dreams, his dream*

méné-n *he is hungry* < ménét *starvation*

2.6 Transitivity

Active verbs are transitive or intransitive. Some intransitive verbs may be transitivised by adjunction of a suffix (or by flexion of the final vowel). Semantically, as often in Oceanic languages, the object may be the patient, the source, the place or the accessory. The transitive suffixes are:

(44) KUM : -i, -e, -(i)li, or flexion a > e

NEM : -i, or flexion a > e

CEM : -i, -hî

AJI : -i, -ri (occasionally -ru)

Transitivity is very productive. Some pairs are given below as examples:

	Intransitive	Transitive
KUM (45)	ap <i>laugh</i>	avw-ili <i>laugh at</i>
	phaxat <i>defecate</i>	phaar-i <i>defecate on</i>
	jak <i>measure</i>	jax-e <i>measure sth</i>
	cap <i>run away</i>	cav-e <i>run away with sth</i>
	haxaxa <i>be afraid</i>	haxexe <i>fear</i> (Haudricourt 1963:9)
NEM (46)	cora <i>climb</i>	cora-i <i>climb on</i>
	tnoon <i>run</i>	tnoon-i <i>run after</i>
	naan <i>laugh</i>	naad-i <i>laugh at</i>
	cila <i>ask questions</i>	cile <i>ask somebody, ask for sth</i>
	guna <i>steal</i>	gune <i>steal sth</i>

CEM	(47)	páat	<i>stick</i>	páat-i	<i>stick sth</i>	
		ṭigā	<i>bite</i>	ṭigē-i	<i>cut sth with teeth</i>	
		āp	<i>laugh</i>	āu-hî	<i>laugh at</i>	
		pēlā	<i>climb</i>	pēlā-hî	<i>climb on</i>	
		umîè	<i>wake up</i>	umîè-hî	<i>be awakened by sth</i>	(Rivierre:252-257)
AJI	(48)	tuu	<i>grab</i>	tuu-ri	<i>grab sth</i>	
		vâ	<i>pile up</i>	vâ-i	<i>pile up sth</i>	
		cuu	<i>slip</i>	cuu-i	<i>slip into</i>	
				cuu-ri	<i>to put on (clothes)</i>	
		goc	<i>vomit</i>	goc-ru	<i>vomit sth</i>	(Fontinelle:284-286)

2.7 The transitive verb and its different types of object

Transitive verbs are always 'oriented', that is, the action they express is always aimed at a determined object.

When no object is present, it means that the object is inanimate and known from the context; this is a form of pronominalisation.

The nominal object, when determined, is not included in the verb phrase, is never introduced by a case marker, and is not recalled in the verb phrase by a co-referent pronominal marker (cf. 2.7.1).

Finally, when the object is not determined, it may be incorporated in the verb phrase (2.7.2).

2.7.1 Marked or unmarked transitive verbs

We can distinguish two types of transitive verbs: those which always keep the same form whatever the category of the object (49), and those which show a flexional derivation before proper nouns or pronominal objects (final vowel flexion in Kumak; loss of the transitive suffix in Nemi and Cémuhî). When the object is a determined common noun, however, inflected verbs keep their transitive suffix (50).

2.7.1.1 Unmarked transitive verbs

(49)	KUM	phee	<i>take sth, take it</i>	phee-na	<i>take me</i>
	NEM	fe	<i>take sth, take it</i>	fe-ek	<i>take him</i>
	CEM	né	<i>put sth, put it</i>	né-εη	<i>put him</i>
	AJI	rhû	<i>see sth, see it</i>	rhû-e	<i>see him</i>

2.7.1.2 Marked transitive verbs

(50)	KUM	axe	<i>see sth, see it</i>	axe âlô	<i>see the child</i>
				axi-e	<i>see him</i>
	NEM	kaai	<i>hit sth, hit it</i>	kaai vi hyaok	<i>hit the child</i>
				kaa-ek	<i>hit him</i>
				kaa hixe	<i>hit Hixe (proper noun)</i>
	CEM	ālîhî	<i>see sth, see it</i>	ālîhî ā éwá	<i>see the child</i>
				ālî-εη	<i>see him</i>
				ālî íké	<i>see Ike (proper noun)</i>

We may mention that in Cèmuhî there is a complex system of articles. A distinction is made between a series of 'personifying' articles (feminine and masculine) and a series of 'neuter' articles.⁷

The noun phrase: 'personifying article' + noun always functions as a proper noun or pronoun, and when serving as an object, it undergoes the same process of 'proper noun incorporation' involving the loss of the verb suffix (51).

CEM (51) ē ālī lū tóomwó
he/see/the du fem/woman/
He sees the two women.

The distinction made in Cèmuhî between personifying and neuter articles is essential for it conditions the choice of the subject case marker (cf. 78).

2.7.2 Nominal object incorporation

In New Caledonian languages, as in many Oceanic languages, the nominal object may be incorporated in the verb phrase. No insertion is then possible between the verb and its incorporated object; they form together an intransitive verb phrase.

In Cèmuhî, object incorporation involves the loss of the article (52).

In Paicî, the verb is reduced to its first syllable (54).

In Nemi, either the verb is reduced (53a), or the article is lost (53b).

In Ajië, it seems that there is only loss of the transitive suffix (55).

CEM (52)	wólí ā īkūā <i>spear/the/fish/</i> <i>to spear the fish</i>	wólí-īkūā <i>spear-fish</i> <i>to spearfish</i>	
NEM (53a)	kaai vi nuk <i>hit/the/fish/</i> <i>to hit the fish</i>	ka-nuk <i>hit-fish</i> <i>to fish</i>	
(53b)	kneli vi nuk <i>spear/the/fish/</i> <i>to spear the fish</i>	kneli-nuk <i>spear-fish</i> <i>to spearfish</i>	
PAI (54)	tāa ī áráwēē <i>spear/the/fish</i> <i>to spear the fish</i>	tā-áráwēē <i>spear-fish</i> <i>to spearfish</i>	
AJI (55)	tuu-ri kamɔʔ <i>grab-tr/man/</i> <i>to grab the man</i>	tuu kamɔʔ <i>grab/man/</i> <i>to seize people</i>	(Fontinelle:285)

We have tried to show above the main common features of these languages. Now we come to two points on which they diverge: the number of distinct series of pronouns, and the subject markers.

2.8 Pronominal series

All New Caledonia languages distinguish between singular, dual and plural forms of pronouns,⁸ and, with first person dual and plural, between inclusive and exclusive forms. But they differ in the number of distinct series used for the different functions.

Kumak, for example, distinguishes four series of pronouns:

KUM (56)	embedded subject	object	possessive	free form
1s	-na	-na	-ŋ	na
2s	-co/-yo	-yo	-m	co
3s	-i	-e	-n	ye

(Haudricourt 1963:8)

Nemi and Cèmuhi distinguish two more series: one series of stative pronouns suffixed to stative verbs, which excludes the presence of embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase, and one series of locative pronouns:

CEM (57)	embedded subject	object	possessive	stative	locative	free/focal
1s	ē	-o	-ŋ	-jo	ēō	wāēō
2s	gō	-ko	-m	-go	gō	wōgō
3s	ē	-εŋ	-n	-naŋ	ē	wēεŋ

(Rivierre:61)

Paicî and Ajië have only three series of pronouns; object and possessive pronouns are identical:

AJI (58)	embedded subject	object/possessive	free/focal
1s	gō	-na	gēna
2s	gē	-i	gēi
3s	na	-e/-ε/-ə	cə

(Fontinelle:154-156)

2.9 Noun phrase subject case markers

We have already mentioned that with active verbs, the nominal subject is recalled in the verb phrase by a co-referent pronominal subject. The nominal subject itself may be introduced by a case marker whose form and use differ from one language to another.

In this section, we shall present some examples of the diversity of subject case marking.

2.9.1 Ergative case marking: Kumak (Far North)

2.9.1.1 In Kumak, the case marker *ea* appears only before the subjects of transitive verbs (e.g. 59). Subjects of intransitive verbs are unmarked (60):

KUM (59) trans.	i	axe	on	ea	vine	
	he/see/sand/sm/rat/					
	The rat sees the sand.					(Haudricourt 1963:28)
(60) intr.	i	cap	vine			
	he/flee/rat/					
	The rat flees.					(idem)

Thus, as in many Polynesian languages, we find case marking of an ergative type on the noun phrase.

However, if we consider the embedded pronouns in the verb phrase, we find an agreement of an accusative type. Thus, we can identify the nominal which agrees in person and number with the embedded pronominal marker of the verb phrase as the syntactic subject, for both transitive and intransitive verbs (61a, 61b).

KUM (61a) trans. la u ogi-na ea la-bai
they/perf/leave-me/sm/they-there/
They abandoned me. (Haudricourt 1963:14)

(61b) intr. me la tu mââlic roven
and/they/go down/bird/all/
And all the birds go down. (Haudricourt 1963:13)

2.9.1.2 Comments on the case marker *ea*: this marker is realised either *ea* or *a*. Leenhardt (1946:30) stated that it could be followed by possessive suffixes, whatever the person involved: *ea-n I*, *ea-m you*, *ea-n he*. Twenty years later, Haudricourt (1963:8) found the same marker, but only before nouns or demonstrative pronouns.

We have not found any other language with ergative case marking, that is among languages already described or on which we have unpublished documents.

2.9.2 Accusative case marking: e.g. Ajië (South)

2.9.2.1 In Ajië, the subject case marker is *na*. This marker is obligatory before every kind of subject, with both transitive and intransitive verbs (62), (63):

(62) trans. na kâi falawa na kamɔ?
he/eat/bread/sm/man/
The man eats the bread.

(63a) intr. cere kɔɔ na (para) ɔyaari
they/play/sm/(pl)/child/
The children play. (Fontinelle:313)

(63b) na dɔ kani na mʌʔu
it/really/grow/sm/yam/
The yam grows well. (Fontinelle:193)

2.9.2.2 In this language, case markers and agreement are of nominative/accusative type. Here are the languages which present the same case marking type:

	language	subject case marker
(64) Koné dialects:	Hmwaveke	ka
	Hmwaeke	ka
	Haeke	na
Languages of the south:	Ajië	na
	Arhö	na
	Arhâ	na
	Orowe	na
	Neku	na
	Nerë	na / ne

Between these two types (Ajië on one side, Kumak on the other), we find a variety of intermediate states, of which we shall only give a few examples.

2.9.3 Split ergative: e.g. Nemi (North)

2.9.3.1 In Nemi, the case marker *ru* comes before the subject, animate or inanimate, of a transitive verb and the animate subject (only) of an intransitive (65a), (65b), (65c). The inanimate subject of an intransitive verb is not marked (66).

NEM (65a) trans. (animate subject):
yelu fe vi hyaok ru maali hnook
they du/take/the/child/sm/the du/woman/
The two women take the child.

(65b) trans. (inanimate subject):
ye teve-ek ru vi davec
it/carry-her/sm/the/flood/
The flood carries her away.

(65c) intr. (animate subject):
ye ta-me ru vi hnook
she/climb-come/sm/the/woman/
The woman comes climbing up.

(66) intr. (inanimate subject):
ye ta-me vi davec
it/mount-come/the/flood/
The flood mounts.

2.9.3.2 Most languages of the North present this type of case marking. But note, first, that the case markers are not the same in each language, and second, that some markers may take the possessive suffixes, whereas others may only introduce the free/focal pronouns.

However, all the case markers are generally embedded in the interrogative pronoun *who?*

(67) language	subject case marker	<i>who?</i>
Yâlayu (Balade)	wa +	ti
Caac	we +	we-ri
Jawe	(w)e +	we-de
Pwaamei	thu / thuu +	thuu / thuu-de
Pwapwâ	du	duu-te
Pije	lu	thuu / thuu-de
Nemi (Temala)	ru	thuu / thuu-de
Nemi (East coast)	ru	rhuu / rhuu-de
Fwâi	ru	rhuu / rhuu-de

The + sign means that the case marker may take the possessive suffixes.

2.9.3.3 Discussion:

In several languages, the pronominal substitute of the nominal subject is the free/focal pronoun:

NEM (68) *ye ta-me ru vi hnook*
she/climb-come/sm/the/woman/
The woman comes climbing up

- (69) ye ta-me ru yek
she/climb-come/sm/she (free pronoun)/
She comes climbing up.

But in several neighbouring languages, these pronominal substitutes are the possessive suffixes, for all persons.

Thus, in Jawe, the subject case marker (w)e, which has the same distribution as the Nemi ru, presents the flexions of inalienable possessed nouns before the possessive suffixes: o-ŋ *I*, (w)e-m *you*, (w)e-n *he*.⁹

- JAW (70) xe ta-me (w)e di hnemo
she/climb-come/sm/the/woman/
The woman comes climbing up.
- (71) xe ta-me (w)e-n
she/climb-come/sm-her (possessive form)/
She comes climbing up.
- (72) jo juu he-mwa-me (w)e-m
you/really/go-again-come/sm-your/
You are coming back.
- (73) mo gaa pwei o-ŋ nei khêk
I/prog/open/sm-my/this/oven/
I am going to open this oven.

The situation is the same in Pwaamei where the subject marker *thu*, original form of the subject markers *du*, *lu* and *ru* (67), takes either the possessive suffix or the free/focal pronouns; the choice appears to be completely free: *thuu-ŋ* or *thuu don I*, *thuu-m* or *thuu jo you*, *thuu-n* or *thuu dak he*.

- PWA (74) a ta-me thu ve daahma
he/climb-come/sm/the chief/
The chief comes climbing up.
- (75) a ta-me $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{thuu-n} \\ \text{sm-his (possessive)/} \end{array} \right.$
he/climb-come/ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{thuu dak} \\ \text{sm-he (free form)/} \end{array} \right.$
He comes climbing up.

However, in all of these languages, the pronominal topic coming at the beginning of the sentence is always the free form pronoun:

- NEM (76) yek // ye ta-me
he//he/climb-come/
As for him, he comes climbing up.
- JAW (77) dek // xe ta-me
he//he/climb-come/
As for him, he comes climbing up.

In conclusion, it seems to us that the use of the possessive suffix after the subject marker is archaic in languages of the North. We have already said that Leenhardt noted flexions for the Kumak *ea* subject marker: *ea-ŋ I*, *ea-m you*, *ea-n he*. Nowadays, the subject markers *we* (Caac, Jawe) and *thu* (Pwaamei) still take the possessive suffixes, and we may suppose that, as for many prepositions of these languages, the subject markers have a lexical origin, which we cannot trace at present.

2.9.4 Languages of the Centre: Cèmuhî and Paicî

2.9.4.1 In Cèmuhî, the situation is still more complex. We find two subject markers: (w)ɔ and ne/na.¹⁰

The (w)ɔ marker appears before proper nouns, and before common nouns preceded by 'personifying articles' (cf. note 7). This marker is obligatory whether the verb is transitive or intransitive (78a), (78b).

CEM (78a) trans. ē pée-εη ɔ íké
she/take-him/sm/Ike/
Ike takes him.

(78b) intr. lū mú ɔ lūpwɔ̄ āpūlīp
they du/stay/sm/the du masc/man/
The two men stay.

The ne/na marker appears before common nouns preceded by the neuter article. It is not obligatory, and, when it appears, it indicates clearly an emphasis on the active nature of the subject. More frequent with transitive verbs, the ne/na marker is still never obligatory (cf. 79a, 79b).

J.-C. Rivierre (1980:186) insists on its role as focus marker:

CEM (79a) trans. ē kō ūnē-hî ā āmú na ā tēàt
it/pres/burn-tr/the neut/country/sm/the neut/sun/
The sun burns the country.

(79b) ē páaí ā āmú ā cínú
it/invoke/the neut/country/the neut/disease/
The disease invades the country.

(80) intr. ē kō é (na) ā éwá
he/pres/cry/(sm)/the neut/child/
The child cries.

(81) intr. ē tīpwɔ̄ ā ácéhî-n
it/fall/the neut/fruit-its/
Its fruit falls. (Rivierre:187)

In Paicî, we only find one subject marker, wā, before proper nouns, and before common nouns preceded by 'personifying articles' whether the verb is transitive or intransitive (82a) and (82b):

PAI (82a) trans. rū cōô ī gɔ̄ wā tūpēdū épó
they du/see/the/crab/sm/the du masc/child/
The two boys see the crab.

(82b) intr. ē cōɔbé wā dūī
he/go out/sm/Dui/
Dui goes out.

There is no subject marker before common noun preceded by neuter articles (83a) and (83b).

PAI (83a) trans. ē pá ī nākébwɔ̄ ī épó
he/take/the/basket/the/child/
The child takes the basket.

(83b) intr. ē í ī épó
he/cry/the/child/
The child cries.

2.9.4.2 The subject markers (w)ɔ and wɛ

The (w)ɔ marker has many functions in Cèmuhî:

(w)ɔ¹: subject marker before proper nouns and nouns preceded by personifying articles, cf. (78).

(w)ɔ²: marker incorporated in free/focal pronouns (cf. 57), and in the interrogative pronoun wɔɔ *who?*

(w)ɔ³: proper noun predicate marker:

CEM (84) ɔ íké *This is Ike.*

(w)ɔ⁴: proper noun (or noun preceded by personifying articles) topic marker:

- subject topic: cf. (17);

- object topic:

CEM (85) ɔ pā càa tɛ-n ká ē cētēē-ɛŋ ɔ pā éwá
topic/the masc/father/prep-his/and/he/catch up/sm/the masc/child/
As for his father, the child catches him up. (Rivierre:208)

- possessor topic:

CEM (86) ɔ pā nàl-n ká cíbú ā nà-n
topic/the masc/child-his/and/swell/the neut/belly-his/
As for his son, he has a swollen belly. (Rivierre:209)

(w)ɔ⁵: marks appositional proper nouns:

CEM (87) ē tōo lūpwɔ pwénájten ɔ āpwɔmwīdē me āpwɔpīcé
he/find/the du masc/brothers/pred m/Apwɔmwīdē/with/Apwɔpīcé/
He finds the two brothers Apwɔmwīdē and Apwɔpīcé. (Rivierre:185)

Should we interpret these as several accidentally homophonous particles?

This is not impossible, but we may also suppose that some of the above functions are derivative: (w)ɔ² and (w)ɔ³ are predicate markers, and the appositionive use of (w)ɔ⁵ probably comes under the same function.

On the other hand, topics are always followed by a co-ordinate clause introduced by *ka* (cf. 17, 85, 86), and the topic marker (w)ɔ⁴ could also derive from the predicate marker: *This is X and ...*

This construction is quite different from the emphatic one which is marked by relativisation (with a deictic):

CEM (88) ɔ íké ēnāa ē ábé
pred m/Ike/deictic/she/come/
It is Ike who is coming.

In conclusion, the (w)ɔ marker in Cèmuhî seems to have two essential functions: subject marker and pronominal or proper noun predicate marker.

The Paicî wɛ marker (J.-C. Rivierre, personal communication) has the same functions that the Cèmuhî (w)ɔ has. But it can also, optionally, precede proper noun (or personified NP) complements. The use of wɛ before the object (89) or before other complements (90) is associated with semantic emphasis.

PAI (89) ē cōô (wɛ) bwɛ wɛ dúí
he/see/(emph)/Bwɛ/sm/Duí/
Duí sees Bwɛ.

- (90) cāa kāl̄ (wāl̄) dūī
father/of/(emph)/Dui/
Dui's father.

We may note that:

- wāl̄ is obligatory before every proper noun subject, whereas it is optional as an emphatic marker.
- As an emphasis marker, wāl̄ has always a mid tone; as a subject marker, however, it does not have a specific tone but always a lower tone than the one of the preceding syllable: compare (91a), (91b) and (91c).

- PAI (91a) ē mē wāl̄ dūī
he/come/sm/Dui/
Dui comes.

- (91b) ē cōpwō wāl̄ dūī
he/go away/sm/Dui/
Dui goes away.

- (91c) gō īmwū (wāl̄) dūī
I/catch/(emph)/Dui/
I catch Dui.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the two markers (w)ō (Cèmuhî) and wāl̄ (Paicî) have the same origin, i.e. an ancient personal article.

We may compare the function of these markers with the function of the personal article of other Oceanic languages. Pawley (1972:100) notes several languages of the south-east Solomons where the a marker occurs before 'personal names and kinship terms denoting a specific person in focal and subject positions'. Closer to New Caledonia, J. Lynch (personal communication) points out that in Aneityum, the only VOS language of Vanuatu, the subject marker a is also incorporated in free/focal pronouns.

2.9.4.3 The subject marker ne

If the marker (w)ō comes from an ancient personal article, we might be tempted to interpret the subject marker ne (found also as na in languages of the South (cf. 64) as a reflex of the Oceanic common noun article *na.

We have seen that in Paicî, however, there is no subject marker before common nouns; and in Cèmuhî the function of the marker ne is not parallel to that of (w)ō:

- it is only a facultative emphasis marker before subjects with neutral articles (79)-(81);
- it never introduces common noun predicates: articles are used instead:

- CEM (92) ā mwà
the/house/
This is a house.

Finally the ne / na marker has many homonyms in all these languages (deictic, locative ...) and it seems difficult now to decide definitely on its origin.

2.10 Conclusion

This presentation shows the complexity of reconstruction of the subject markers in New Caledonia languages. These languages diverged a long time ago, as their wide phonological diversity proves. The grammatical morphemes have changed (and diverged) at a faster rate than the lexical stock. Presently, we are not able to propose a satisfying explanation which can account for the variety in form and use of these subject markers. However, we may consider two possible origins for some of these markers:

- an ancient personal article in Cèmuhî and Paicî, where the (w)ɔ and wa markers function as an 'identity presentative';
- a lexical origin in languages of the North, where the subject marker behaves like an inalienable noun.

We know that other Oceanic languages resemble the languages of northern Caledonia in having verbal structures with a postposed subject marked by possessive suffixes (e.g. Santa Cruz, north-western Solomons [M. Ross, personal communication at the TICAL Conference]).

Should we interpret these facts as parallel innovations from nominalised verbal structures, or as the trace of more ancient common phenomena? A systematic study of subject case markers in all the Oceanic languages would perhaps help to answer this question.

3. LOYALTY ISLANDS LANGUAGES

3.1 Main common features

The languages of the Loyalty Islands are classified by Grace (1955) on the basis of lexicostatistics as a subgroup of Oceanic separate from that of the New Caledonia languages.

Grammatically, however, Iaaï of Uvea shows similarities with the northern languages of New Caledonia (VOS word order, embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase, distinct series of pronouns).

In this section, we will examine the three Loyalty Islands languages together, emphasising their similarities with respect to categories, verb classes, transitivity and the presence of a subject marker *hne*.

3.1.1 First, we may note that the verb/noun opposition is more restricted in these three languages than in languages of New Caledonia. Many words may be either verbs or nouns depending on their syntactic context: with nominal particles, they function as nouns, with verbal ones, they function as verbs. Thus, the role of the particles is predominant, since for a large part of the lexicon they determine the function of the words. However, the verb/noun opposition does exist, as some words are always verbs, and cannot become nouns without derivation.

We have said that the particles have an important role: in Nengone, for example, the anteposition of a definite particle is sufficient to nominalise a verb phrase, without really affecting its internal structure:

- NEN (93) ci hmi ke bon
 pres/pray/sm/he/
 VP S
He prays.
- (94) roi kore ci hmi bon
 good/sm + the/pres/pray/he/
 VP S
His prayer (going on) is good.
- (95) roi kore hmi ni bua
 good/sm + the/prayer/of/you/
 VP S
Your prayer is good.

Sentence (93) is nominalised in (94) and becomes the subject by the simple anteposition of the definite subject marker kore (replacing the subject marker ke). In sentence (95), hmi functions as a noun: it has no aspect marker and is determined by a possessor NP.

3.1.2 Verb classes and transitivity

3.1.2.1 Verbs are either stative or active. Stative verbs in Iaaï take a separate series of pronouns. However, in all three languages, they admit a causative transitivity:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|------|-----------|-----------|
| (96) | IAA | gaan | tall | oo-gaan-ɔ | to honour |
| | DRE | tu | tall | a-tu-n | to honour |
| | NEN | hma | tall | a-hma-ni | to honour |

Active verbs are either transitive or intransitive:

– Intransitive verbs may be invariably intransitive, or transitivisable. Many nouns may function as transitive verbs with the same formal marks of transitivity. Examples of invariably intransitive verbs:

- | | | | |
|------|-----|--------|-------------|
| (97) | IAA | cihɣə | to sneeze |
| | DRE | θɔtesɪ | to yawn |
| | NEN | ice | to climb up |

Transitivisable verbs or nouns:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|---------|---------------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| (98) | IAA | ci | to lean | cəə | to support sth |
| | | walak | to play | walak-ɔ | to play with sth |
| | | ieɬa | to be repentant | ieɬaa | to regret sth |
| | | mokuɬ | to lie, to sleep | mokul-ec | to lie on, to brood (egg) |
| | | əniŋ | a straw | əniŋ-ɔ | to cover sth with straw |
| | DRE | hpiðu | to spit | hpiðu-εεn | to spit sth, to spit on sth |
| | | huða | to lean | huða-a-n | to support, to maintain sth |
| | | kalaim | to wash one's hands | kalaim-εεn | to wash one's hands with sth |
| | | maɖ | to be glad | maɖ-iin | to be glad of sth |
| | | faiɬ | fist | faiɬ-εεn | to hit s.o. with the fist |
| | | alaamek | eye | alaamek-εεn | to look at |
| | NEN | cum | to be on the watch | cum-oon | to watch sth |
| | | hue | to go | hu-oon | to go along sth, to go on |
| | | niiia | bad, the evil | niiia-n | to harm s.o. |
| | | hele | knife | hel-oon | to cut sth with a knife |

Transitivity markers present various and often complex forms.¹¹ As in New Caledonia languages, transitivity covers a large semantic field: the object is the patient, the place, the source or the accessory.

— Transitive verbs

Some verbs are always transitive, that is, their meaning includes the possibility of having an object, even if it is not necessarily present.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|---------|-----|----------|------|--------------------------|
| (99) | IAA | kot | to hit | wɔ | to see | hom | to take |
| | DRE | fe | to open | xen | to eat | ðekθ | to pick up |
| | NEN | ridi | to hit | cue | to bring | cin | to gather with the hands |

3.1.2.2 Possessed verbs

Loyalty Islands languages also provide a small series of subjective, psychological or locative verbs which must take a possessive suffix or a possessive determination:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----------|------------------------------------|---------|----------------|---------|-------------|
| (100) | IAA | e wee-k | I want | e wee-m | you want | e wee-n | he wants |
| | | haiŋe-n | he says | bili-n | he is the last | hne-n | he stays |
| | DRE | hwa-ŋ | I must, my duty | ðni-ŋ | I say | hwaa-ŋ | I come from |
| | | aða-ŋ | I want, my will | | | | |
| | | aða | ne | la | iŋe | føe | kuci-xen |
| | | | duty/of/def/pl/woman/prepare-food/ | | | | |
| | | | Women must prepare the food. | | | | |
| | NEN | ala-iego | | pa-go | | | |
| | | I want | | I must | | | |

3.1.2.3 Verbal flexions depending on the object

The object is never introduced by a case marker. However, it may change the form of the verb, depending on whether it is a pronoun or a proper noun, a determined common noun, or incorporated in the verb phrase.

Transitive or transitivised verbs generally present three forms:

— a determined form, if the object is a determined common noun (or when no object is expressed), that is, if the object may take articles. A determined nominal object is always optional, and does not necessarily immediately follow the verb:

V det + ((article) + O)

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------------|---------------|-----------|----------|
| IAA | (101) | ame | kot | jee | wanakat |
| | | he+pres/hit | det/the | pl/child/ | |
| | | He hits | the | children. | |
| DRE | (102) | aneic | a | humuθ | la puaka |
| | | he/pres/kill | det/the/pig/ | | |
| | | He kills | the | pig. | |
| NEN | (103) | inu | ci | huoon | ore lene |
| | | I/pres/go on | det/the/road/ | | |
| | | I take | this | road. | |

— an undetermined form which requires the presence of a nominal object, without particles, and immediately following the verb. The nominal object is incorporated in the verb phrase:

V undet + O¹²

- IAA (104) ame xuc - bü
he+pres/hit undet-flying fox/
He hunts flying fox.
- DRE (105) aŋeic a humu - puaka
he/pres/kill undet-pig/
He kills pigs, he is a pig killer.
- NEN (106) inu ci huo - leqan
I/pres/go on undet-main road/
I take main roads.

The phrase V undet + O may function as an intransitive verb phrase, and may itself be transitivised again.¹³

— a personal form if the object is a pronoun or a proper noun, necessarily present after the verb:

V pers + pronoun/proper noun

- IAA (107) ame kuc - u
he+pres/hit pers-you/
He hits you.
- DRE (108) aŋeic a humuθi - wamo
he/pres/kill pers-Wamo/
He kills Wamo.
- NEN (109) ci kemenoo - bua
pres/fear pers-you/
Someone fears you, you are feared.

These are the main features concerning verbal classes and transitivity. The grammaticalised opposition between pronouns and proper nouns on the one hand and common nouns on the other which affects the form of transitive verbs, recurs elsewhere in the language; it affects determination, and the flexions undergone by prepositions, subject markers included.

We now present separately active clause structures, determination, and the specific derivation involving the subject marker hne- for each of the three Loyalty Islands languages.

Finally we will try to give an overall picture of the uses of subject markers in these languages.

3.2 Iaaï

3.2.1 Three features differentiate Iaaï from the other two languages, and group it with languages of northern New Caledonia:

- there is a pronominal subject embedded in the verb phrase;
- the pronominal subject is itself embedded in the tense/aspect marker.

- (110) ame ɔɔ
 he+pres/do/
 He does sth, he does it.
- aa ɔɔ
 he+past/do/
 He did sth, he did it.
- amaa ɔɔ
 he+fut/do/
 He will do sth, he will do it.

— There are four series of pronouns:

(111)	subject		object	possessive	free/focal
	plain form	embedded			
1s	iɲ	oge-/iɲ-	ɲa	-k	iɲa
2s	u	u-	u	-m	au
3s	e	a-	-	-n/-ɲ	e

3.2.2 Word order and subject marker

VOS is the unmarked word order. The object is never preceded by any mark. Nor is the nominal subject, except occasionally in past tense transitive sentences.

- (112) intr. ame walak wanakat
 he+pres/play/child/
 The child plays.
- (113) trans. ame kot wanakat θaan
 he+pres/hit/child/chief/
 The chief hits the child.
- (114) trans. past tense
 aa kuu-ɲa (hne-n) kame-n
 he+past/hit-me/(sm-his)/father-his/
 His father hit me.

However, if the object is a nominal and the subject is introduced by hne-n, then the object must be topicalised by fronting:

- (115) wanakat // aa kot hne-n θaan
 child//he+past/hit/sm-his/chief/
 The chief hit the child.

The subject marker hne-n is an optional mark of emphasis on the agent in past tense sentences. It only appears with common noun (hence 3rd person) subjects; thus there is no choice of pronominal flexion.

3.2.3 Determination

The order of determination is the same in all New Caledonian and Loyalty Islands languages. However, Iaaï has developed a complex system of determination when the head is an alienable noun and the modifier human; this system recalls the eatable or drinkable possession seen in New Caledonia. But in Iaaï it is very productive. Surprisingly, this system is not found in Drehu and Nengone.

Juxtaposed determination:

- (116) uma weto taŋ oŋic
 house/stone/ *basket/banana/*
 house made of stone *basket full of bananas*

When the head is an inalienable noun, it keeps its inherent possessive suffix if the modifier is a common noun (117), but loses it if the modifier is a proper noun (118):

- (117) caa-n θaan caa-k
 foot-his/chief/ *foot-my*
 the chief's foot *my foot*
- (118) caa-pouu
 foot-Pouu
 Pouu's foot

When the head is an alienable noun, and the modifier non-human, two prepositions may be used: en (destination) and ip (origin):

- (119) taŋ en oŋic at en hpei
 basket/prep/banana/ *man/prep/country/*
 basket for bananas *inhabitant of a country*
- fao ip meno təə ip hu
 horn/prep/cattle/ *rope/prep/boat/*
 cattle horn *boat rope*

If the head is an alienable noun, and the modifier human, then an appositional phrase is necessary, consisting of a classifier which shows the kind of possession or the category of the thing possessed followed by possessive suffixes. The classifier used for this appositional determination may be an inalienable noun (120), an alienable noun (121), a verb (122) or even a preposition (see 3.2.4, (124)).

- (120) api-n *his thing* is used for general possession:

api-k koko *my yam*
 api-m θaan *your chief*
 api-n meic *his fire*

a-n *his food* is used for eatable possession:

ə-k koko *my yam (to eat)*
 a-n jeeü *his provisions*

bele-n *his drink* is used for drinkable possession:

bele-n kəiə *his water (to drink)*

- (121) uma *house* used for dwelling possession:

umwə-k uma *my house*
 umwə-k ito *my round hut*

hu *boat* used for embarkation possession:

huu-k hu *my boat*
 huu-k galu *my canoe*

- (122) hlək *to warm oneself by the fire*
 hlogu-k meic *my fire (to heat myself)*

3.2.4 Derivation

We only present one type of derivation here, which involves the use of the subject marker hne-.

Some verbs may be nominalised by the prefix hna- *place of, result of an action*:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------|------------------|------------|------------------------|
| (123) | mokuṭ | to sleep, to lie | hna-mokuṭ | bed |
| | üpküme | to think | hna-üpküme | the thought |
| | op | to build | hna-op | building, construction |

The modifier of a noun with the prefix hna- is always preceded by the preposition hne- (which we found as a subject marker in some past tense transitive clauses):

- | | | | |
|-------|------------|------------|---------------------|
| (124) | hnə-k | hna-üpküme | my thought |
| | hnə-m | hna-üpküme | your thought |
| | hne-n | hna-üpküme | his thought |
| | hna-üpküme | hne-n θaan | the chief's thought |

3.2.5 Conclusion

The preposition hne- in Iaa is only occasionally a subject marker. However, it is used in the determination of nouns prefixed by hna-.

Its lexical origin is clear: *his place, he stays*. Most of the prepositions have lexical origins, and the majority of these take the possessive suffixes:

- | | | | |
|-------|----------|------------------------|------------|
| (125) | upi-n | near him, at his place | < his body |
| | hpiṃka-n | in front of him | < his face |
| | ho-n | above him, on him | < his top |

3.3 Drehu and Nengone

Drehu and Nengone differ from Iaa in the following points:

— They have no embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase. As the presence of a nominal subject or object is optional, as in Iaa (except in Drehu in the present and future tenses), the lack of an embedded subject pronoun leads to basically impersonal verb phrases.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|------|
| DRE | (126) | kola | xen | meci | he |
| | | prog/eat/ | | die/perf/ | |
| | | s.o. is eating sth | | s.o. is dead | |
| NEN | (127) | ci | ule | ci | mane |
| | | pres/see/ | | wenore | hna |
| | | s.o. sees sth | | begin | |
| | | | | pres/cry/because/past/punish/ | |
| | | | | s.o. cries because (he) was punished | |

— The number of series of pronouns is reduced. We may note that this functional reduction of pronouns is counterbalanced by an extraordinary profusion of honorific and speaker-specific pronouns. The free form may be used everywhere, except for the object where a short form is found in the first and second person singular, and except for possessives of the first person (singular, dual and plural), where archaic possessive suffixes may replace the free form pronouns:

DRE (128) free form object possessive

1s	eni	-ni	ŋ
2s	eø	-ø	-
3s	ajeic	-	-

NEN (129) free form object possessive

1s	inu	-nu	-go/-gu
2s	nubo/bo	-bo	-
3s	nubon/bon	-bon	-

- We find no appositional determination (possessive classifier + specifier).

3.4 Drehu

3.4.1 The word order and the presence or absence of the subject marker depend on the tense.

Three types of structure are found in Drehu.

3.4.1.1 SVO word order in the present-aoristic and future tenses, with transitive or intransitive verbs (130):

- (130) intr. la nekønat a eɛ
 the/child/pres/go up/
 The child goes up.
- trans. la nekønat a lep la kuli
 the/child/pres/hit/the/dog/
 The child hits the dog.

This structure necessarily includes a nominal or pronominal subject, which comes before the verb phrase.

3.4.1.2 VOS word order in the progressive and perfect tenses. With an intransitive verb, the optional subject follows the verb and is generally unmarked (131).

- (131a) kola eɛ la nekønat
 prog/go up/the/child/
 The child is going up.
- (131b) tahwa ha la ðoxu
 arrive/perf/the/chief/
 The chief has arrived.

With a transitive verb, the direct object follows the verb; the subject is preceded by the subject marker and comes last (132). Both are optional:

- (132) kola lep la kuli hne-ne la nekønat
 prog/hit/the/dog/sm-of/the/child/
 The child is hitting the dog.

The subject marker remains when the direct object is not present:

- (133) kola lep hne-ne la nekɔnaɪ
 prog/hit/sm-of/the/child/
The child is hitting sth.

Thus we have an ergative construction:

V intr. + S
 V trans. + O + sm + S

3.4.1.3 VOS unmarked word order with past tense. An SVO word order, with topicalised subject, is quite frequent, especially with pronominal subjects.

The subject marker is compulsory whether the verb is transitive or intransitive and whether the subject is animate or inanimate (134).

- (134a) hna ele hne-ne la nekɔnaɪ
 past/go up/sm-of/the/child.
The child went up.
- (134b) hna xep hne-ne la he
 past/go ashore/sm-of/the/boat/
The boat went ashore.
- (134c) hna lep la kuli hne-ne la nekɔnaɪ
 past/hit/the/dog/sm-of/the/child/
The child hit the dog.

3.4.1.4 We do not interpret this construction as a passive, as was done by Tryon (1968):

- the actants cannot be expressed in any other way with past tense;
- there is no possible inversion of the syntactic roles, and no possible verbal flexion. Verbs are transitive or intransitive. The transitives, in particular, are always transitive in sense, whether the subject and object appear or not. Thus, for example (135):

- (135) hna ɖeuθ la uma
 past/burn/the/house/

does not mean *the house burnt* but *someone (or something) burnt the house*. The agent can always be added (136):

- (136) hna ɖeuθ la uma hne-ne la aɪ
 past/burn/the/house/sm-of/the/man/
The man burnt the house.

3.4.1.5 In Drehu, the subject marker is also the instrumental marker. When both subject and instrument appear in a past sentence, the subject automatically precedes the instrument:

- (137) hna lep la kuli hne-ne la nekɔnaɪ hne-ne la sine-sinɔ
 past/hit/the/dog/sm-of/the/child/im-of/the/piece of-wood/
The child hit the dog with a stick.

3.4.1.6 The subject marker takes the archaic first person possessive suffixes:

- (138) hna lep la kuli hne-ŋ
past/hit/the/dog/sm-my/
I hit the dog

Thus, the subject marker has three flexions:

- (139) hne- + possessive suffixes of first person
hne-i + 2nd and 3rd person pronouns, and proper nouns
hne-ne + common nouns

Its lexical origin is clear, and the same as in Iaai: *place of*. In Drehu also, other prepositions of lexical origin take the first person possessive suffixes:

- (140) hu-ŋ on me, above me < hun to be above, the top of
hu-i aŋeic on him, above him
hu-ne la at on the man, above the man
hwɛmek-eŋ in front of me < hwɛmek face
ezi-ŋ near me < ezin the side of
huɬøø-ŋ behind me < huɬøøn the back

3.4.2 Determination: always head + modifier

Juxtaposed determination:

- (141) uma etɛ gutu ɬahman
house/stone/ poultry/male/
house made of stones cock

Inalienable possession:

The head is an inalienable noun (ex. *peŋø-n custom*), it keeps its inherent determiner when the modifier is a common noun (142a), drops it when the modifier is a first person pronoun (142b) and replaces it with an -i suffix when the modifier is a 2nd or 3rd person pronoun or a proper noun (142c).

- (142a) peŋø-n la nøð
custom-of/the/country/
the custom of the country
(142b) peŋø-hun
custom-our pl excl
our custom
(142c) peŋø-i aŋeic
custom-of/him/
his custom

Alienable possession:

The head is an alienable noun (e.g. *huliwa work*), the modifier is either suffixed to it (first person pronouns only (143a), or introduced by the preposition i (2nd or 3rd person pronoun, or proper noun, 143b), or by the preposition ne (common noun, 143c).

- (143a) huliwa-ŋ
work-my
my work

(143b) huliwa i ageic
*work/of/him/
 his work*

(143c) huliwa ne la at
*work/of/the/man/
 the man's work*

We may note that in Drehu this same preposition *ne* is used for modifiers indicating the origin or the destination (144), whereas in Iaai there are two different prepositions (119).

(144)	hao	ne	ete		he	ne	isi
			<i>dust/of/stone</i>				<i>boat/of/war/</i>
			<i>dust from stone (origin)</i>				<i>war ship (destination)</i>

3.4.3 Derivation

As in Iaai, the prefix *hna-* is a nominalising prefix with the same meaning: *place of, result of an action*. But note that in Drehu, *hna* is also the past tense marker.

(145)	lapa	<i>to rest</i>	hna-lapa	<i>staying-place</i>
	lø	<i>to enter</i>	hna-lø	<i>entrance</i>
	mekun	<i>to think</i>	hna-mekun	<i>thought, idea</i>

Nouns prefixed by *hna-* may have an agentive complement introduced by the subject marker *hne-*:

(146) la hna-lø hne-ne la ite at
*the/entrance/sm-of/the/pl/man/
 the entrance of the men*

la hna-mekun hne-ne la ðoxu
*the/idea/sm-of/the/chief/
 the chief's idea*

3.4.4 Conclusion

The main originality of Drehu is its active structure whose constituents are marked differently depending on the tense: obligatory subject with no marker in present and future tenses, subject of transitive verbs marked in progressive and perfect tenses, all subjects marked in the past tense. The Drehu subject marker *hne-* is the same as in Iaai, but its utilisation is wider, and it can introduce pronominal or proper noun subjects also.

3.5 Nengone

Structures with active verbs:

The object generally follows the verb and is unmarked, even when it is topicalised:

(147)	ci	ule	ore	retok		ore	lene	//	inu	ci	hu-oon
				<i>pres/see/the/chief/</i>					<i>the/road//I/pres/go on-tr/</i>		
				<i>Someone sees the chief,</i>					<i>I am taking the road.</i>		
				<i>the chief is seen.</i>							

3.5.1 The subject may appear in three different ways:

A. the subject comes before the verb phrase, without a preposition:

- (148) ore du ci ruu lu
the/sun/pres/set/down/
The sun is setting.
- (149) ore retok co ule ore t^{ho}tho
the/chief/fut/see/the/field/
The chief will see the field.
- (150) ore eat hna a-ireku-ni ore icuhma
the/army/past/caus-run away-tr/the/enemy/
The army made the enemy run away.

B. the subject comes after the verb phrase (present, perfect or future) introduced by the subject marker:

ke if the subject is a pronoun
kei if the subject is a proper noun or a personalised noun
kore if the subject is a noun (the subject marker integrates the definite article ore).

- (151) ci ruu lu kore du
pres/set/down/sm+the/sun/
The sun is setting.
- (152) co ule kore retok ore t^{ho}tho
fut/see/sm+the/chief/the/field/
The chief will see the field.
- (153) ha ed kore wata-go
perf/break up/sm+the/leg-my/
My leg is broken.
- (154) p^hina lu kei qua
arrive/down/sm/grasshopper/
The grasshopper comes down.

C. In the past tense, the subject (whether before or after the verb phrase) is introduced by the agent marker hne-, which takes either the first person possessive suffixes, or -i + 2nd or 3rd person pronoun or proper noun, or -nore + common noun.

- (155) hna lani hne-i neŋo
past/change the subject/am-of/Nengo/
Nengo changed his subject of conversation.
- (156) hne-gu hna rue
am-my/past/do/
I have done it.
- (157) hna kaan hne-nore ta qua
past/eat/am-of the/some/grasshopper/
Some grasshoppers have eaten sth.

3.5.2 We will try to explain the different uses of these three different ways of expressing the subject.

We do not know the semantic difference between A and B. However in the neighbouring languages, anteposition of the subject is generally a topicalisation, and we may suppose that this is the case in Nengone. We do not know if these two structures have always coexisted, or if one is more archaic.

In the texts of Père Dubois (1975), on which the present sketch is mainly based, structure B appears to be more frequent. In any case, it is more grammaticalised, in the sense that it is obligatory in certain grammatical contexts.

3.5.2.1 Hence, the subject marker *ke/kei/kore* appears necessarily:

— when the subject follows the verb phrase.

Compare (a) and (b) in (158), (159) and (160):

(158a) ore du ci ruu lu
the/sun/pres/set/down/
The sun sets.

(158b) ci ruu lu kore du
pres/set/down/sm+the/sun/
The sun sets.

(159a) bon ha ci sere
he/perf/pres/suffocate/
He suffocates.

(159b) ha ci sere ke bon
perf/pres/suffocate/sm/he/
He suffocates.

(160a) kicine ha taŋo
Kicine/perf/die/
Kicine is dead.

(160b) ha taŋo kei kicine
perf/die/sm/Kicine/
Kicine is dead.

— after the presentatives (which probably have a verbal origin):

(161) ome kore retok
here is/sm+the/chief/
Here is the chief.

(162) ome ke bon
here is/sm/he/
Here he is.

(163) numu nene kore hna-eloon hne-i retok
there is/power/sm+the/curse/am-of/chief.
The curse of the chief is powerful. (Dubois:229)

— after interrogative pronouns when they are placed at the beginning of the clause.

Compare (a) and (b) in (164), (165), (166) and (167):

(164a) nubo la
you/who?/
Who are you?

(164b) la ke nubo
who?/sm/you/
Who are you?

(165a) caca o
daddy/where?/
Where is daddy?

(165b) o kei caca
where?/sm/daddy/
Where is daddy?

(166a) ore wine banene
the/seedlings/what for?/
What are the seedlings for?

(166b) banene kore wine
what for?/sm+the/seedlings/
What are the seedlings for?

(167a) ore ruace ri tho^{ho} ci whane ho^{ae}le
the/work/in/field/pres/begin/when?/
When does the work in the fields begin?

(167b) ho^{ae}le kore ci whane ore ruace ri tho^{ho}
when/sm+the/pres/begin/the/work/in/field/
When does the work in the fields begin?

— after the numerals, whatever are their function in the clause:

(168) ka bon hna hnapoo-n rewe kore rue aicahman rue karetin
and/she/past/give birth-tr/two/sm+the/du/boy/du/twin/
And she gave birth to two boys, twins. (Dubois:66)

(169) sa kore kacen
one/sm+the/hour/
one hour

— it is present when the verb is omitted in the introduction of direct discourse:

(170) plain form ci cedi ke bon ko
pres/answer/sm/he/that/
He answers:

(171) elliptic form ke bon ko
sm/he/that/
He (says):

This elliptic form is the only case where we found the subject marker at the beginning of a sentence.

3.5.2.2 Let us look now at structure C: the marker *hne-* emphasises the agentivity of the subject.

Nowadays, it is also the instrumental marker (the ancient specifically instrumental marker *o* noted by Dubois is no longer used). It appears as a subject marker mainly (only?) in past tense sentences, (172)-(175), and in subordinate clauses, (176)-(178).

- (172) *hna kuru lo hne-i du*
past/rise/up/am-of/sun/
The sun has risen. (Dubois:163)
- (173) *ha as hna kakaa-n hne-i guacecegow*
past/finish/past/eat-tr/am-of/Guacecegow/
Guacecegow has finished eating sth. (Dubois:247)
- (174) *hne-i buic hna se i cerethi*
am-of/they/past/bathe/at/Cerethi/
They have bathed at Cerethi. (Dubois:64)
- (175) *hne-gu hna ruabaa-n*
am-my/past/clean-tr/
I have cleaned sth.
- (176) *buic ci a-ehne-ni ore ruace hne-i buic hna rue*
they/pres/caus-be visible/tr/the/work/am-of/them/past/do/
They show the work they have done. (Dubois:124)
- (177) *...wenore hna a-taño-ni bon hne-nore ci-ikuña*
...because/past/caus-die-tr/him/am-of the/jealousy/
...because jealousy has killed him. (Dubois:185)
- (178) *nidi seseko kore ciboretan hna iye hne-i buic*
very/true/sm+the/news/past/bring/am-of/they/
The news that they brought is true.

The agent marker may also appear when the object is topicalised:

- (179) *ka ore rawa ni bo // deko co uraa-n hne-i buic*
and/the/land/of/you//neg/fut/admire-tr/am-of/they/
And they will not admire your land. (Dubois:30)

We have seen above that the marker *hne-* may function as a subject marker. However, in intransitive clauses where a subject is already present, the noun phrase introduced by *hne-* has an instrumental function:

- (180) *bon ha taño hne-nore du*
he/perf/die/im-of the/sun/
He died because of the sun.

And compare (a) and (b) in (181):

- (181a) intr. *ha dee kore nod hne-i ðotuane*
perf/to be destroyed/sm+the/country/im-of/Jotruane/
The country is destroyed because of Jotruane.
- (181b) trans. *hna a-dee-ni ore nod hne-i ðotuane*
past/caus-be destroyed-tr/the/country/am-of/Jotruane/
Jotruane has destroyed the country.

The hne- agent marker may occur before interrogative pronouns, giving the clause a past tense meaning:

(182) hne-i la
am-of/who?/
Who did that?

(183) hna hnapo hne-i la
past/give birth/am-of/who?/
Who has given birth?

The origin of this marker is lexical. In Nengone, hne still functions as a verb with the meaning of *to stay, to be in a place*:

(184) ka nene ci hne ri hna-menen
and/mummy/pres/stay/in/staying-place/
and mother stays in the house

and hnen as an inalienable noun:

(185) ri hnen me sa
in/place of/stative marker/one/
in one place

It takes the archaic possessive first person suffixes, as do some other prepositions of lexical origin:

(186) se-n	at someone's place	se-gu	at my place
		se-i bon	at his place
		se-nore retok	at the chief's place
coo-n	the back of	coo-go	behind me

3.5.3 Determination

Determination in Nengone is about the same as in Drehu: first person possessives are suffixed to the head:

(187) yele-go my name
rawa-hne our du excl land

The preposition (n)i comes before 2nd and 3rd person pronoun or proper noun:

(188) yelen i bon his name (yelen name inalienable noun)
mma ni bo your house (mma house alienable noun)

and the preposition nore before a common noun:

(189) mma nore nom
house/of the/man/
house of the man

3.5.4 Derivation

As in Iaaï and Drehu, there is a nominalising prefix hna- (which is, as in Drehu, also the past tense marker); it is very productive:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| (190) | menen | to live in | hna-menen | staying-place |
| | kol | to defecate | hna-kol | excrement |
| | icie | to disobey | hna-icie | disobedience |
| | θalo | to disembark | hna-θalo | arrival, disembarkation |
| | cara | to fall | hna-cara | fall |

Nouns prefixed by hna- may take a modifier which must be introduced by the marker hne-:

- (191) ri guhnen ore hna-cara hne-nore caac
in/place of/the/fall/am-of the/spear/
At the place where the spear fell. (Dubois:83)
- ore hna-θamahae hne-i kazeniri
the/urine/am-of/Kazeniri/
Kazeniri's urine
- ka hna caθuben ore hna-icie hne-i remama ni bon
and/past/punish/the/disobedience/am-of/older brothers/of/him/
The disobedience of his older brothers was punished. (Dubois:307)

4. CONCLUSION

We have presented the different syntactic contexts in which the subject case markers may appear in New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages.

We will conclude with some hypotheses concerning word order and the origin of these case markers.

4.1 It seems reasonable to suppose that VOS, the unmarked word order, found in the majority of New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages, was the original order of the common proto-language. In the languages of the transitional southern group, where the two orders are found, the VOS word order is apparently residual, and the SVO word order is becoming dominant.

If the unmarked word order of POC were SVO, as proposed by Pawley (Pawley and Reid 1979), then it would be necessary to interpret the structural similarity between Fijian and Polynesian on the one hand (Central Pacific group, cf. Pawley 1972), and the languages of New Caledonia on the other, as resulting from parallel development. Such an hypothesis could not be sustained unless we could uncover some internal reason explaining the shift of the subject after the verb phrase in these two groups. Is it not more likely that these languages have retained the verb-initial order of Austronesian and that the transition to SVO word order found in many Oceanic languages corresponds to a later development resulting from automatic topicalisation of the subject? Similar evolutions are found in known verb-initial groups: many Polynesian outliers have changed to an SVO word order. Clark (1976:39) cites examples from Ellice dialects (Nanumea, Vaitupu) where SVO word order appears occasionally.

4.2 Subject markers in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands have at least three different origins.

The Loyalty Islands languages themselves present two subject markers:

— one, hne-, has a lexical origin and emphasises the agentivity of the subject; its use is correlated with the past tense, and with the presence of the

nominalising prefix *hna-* *place of, result of an action* from which it is probably derived. This nominalising prefix *hna-* is formally identical to the past tense marker in Nengone and Drehu.

— the other, *ke-*, is only found in Nengone, and only appears when the subject is postposed to the verb phrase.

What is the relation between the Loyalty Islands subject markers and those of New Caledonia?

First we may compare the subject markers of some northern New Caledonia languages with the Loyalty *hne-* marker: all take the possessive pronouns as substitutes for the nominal subject. We know that in the 'Philippine type' languages, the oblique case forms of pronouns which represent the agent in non-agent focus sentences are the same as the possessive forms. We may suppose that these languages of New Caledonia have preserved an archaic use of the possessive suffixes along with the forms themselves which are the reflexes of the Austronesian suffixes **-ku/*-mu*-ña* as they have preserved the verb-initial order.

Secondly, we may compare the distribution of the Nengone *ke-* with that of the subject marker of the southern (excluding the extreme southern) languages. We have seen that in Ajië, for example, the subject marker *na* is always present when the subject comes after the verb phrase, but never when it is topicalised by fronting. In the transitional southern group, we find the same phenomenon.¹⁴ These subject case markers do not take the possessive suffixes; in origin they were perhaps deictics or prepositions.

A third possible origin for the subject marker is the personal article, as exemplified by the Cèmuhi (w)ɔ̃ Paicĩ wɔ̃ marker. Paicĩ shows how a personal article may become the subject marker for proper nouns, its presence being optional and emphatic before non-subject proper noun NPs, while it has become obligatory before a subject proper noun NP. Cèmuhi can be taken to show the next stage in the process, with the (w)ɔ̃ marker appearing only before proper noun or personified noun phrase subjects.

NOTES

1. We would like to thank Boyd Michailovsky for his help in improving our first translation of this paper.
2. Data given in this paper comes from two sources:
 - from the authors' personal documents, published or not; in this case no source is given.
 - from other authors: when published, the sources are given in parentheses. For Cèmuhi and Paicĩ, unpublished manuscripts of J.-C. Rivierre have been used. For Nengone, most of our data come from unpublished manuscripts of Père Dubois, except for some personal data collected with an informant who stayed in Paris in 1980.
 In both cases, for published documents, see the references.
3. Paicĩ and Cèmuhĩ are tonal languages. Most of the grammatical particles do not have a specific tone but take the tone of the preceding syllable. In this paper, only regular tones are noted.

4. Abbreviations used in this paper are:

adv	adverb	loc	locative marker: upwards, downwards, transversely
am	agent marker	masc	masculine
asp	aspect	neut	neuter
ass	assertive aspect	o	pronominal object
caus	causative	O	nominal object
def	definite	perf	perfect
dir	directional: towards the speaker, away from the speaker	pl	plural
du	dual	prep	preposition
emph	emphasis marker	pres	present
excl	exclusive	prog	progressive aspect
fem	feminine	s	embedded pronominal subject
fut	future	S	nominal subject
im	instrumental marker	sm	subject case marker
incl	inclusive	tr	transitive marker
		V	verb

5. The alienable vs inalienable opposition is somewhat arbitrary and quite grammaticalised. Parts of the body, parts of a whole, kinship terms and some generic nouns (food, drink) are usually inalienable nouns. But for some words, the semantic distinction is not clear and is not transposable from one language to the other. In Ajië, for instance *father* is alienable but *mother* is inalienable whereas in Nemi both are inalienable nouns.

6. Food or drink classifiers used for possession come from specific verbs depending on the kind of food or drink.

NEM	cani	to eat starches	ca-n	his portion of starchy food
	hwai	to eat bark	hwaa-n	his portion of bark
	huli	to eat sugar cane	hule-n	his portion of sugar cane
	hwii	to eat meat	hwie-n	his portion of meat
	knuduk	to drink (cold)	knudoo-n	his cold drink
	felo	to drink (hot)	feloo-n	his hot drink

Few other classifiers are found. In Nemi, for example, *nai-n* *his child* is used to indicate possession of domestic animals: *nai-n* *hyalek* *his hen*. But we will see that in Iaaï (Loyalty), classifiers are numerous (120)-(122).

7. Cemuhî has developed a peculiar system of articles, some of which indicate gender. Most nouns may take the neuter articles (general meaning); human, animate (or animated) nouns may take personifying articles, which are feminine or masculine:

	singular	dual	plural
neuter	ā		ni
feminine	ē	lū	lē
masculine	pā	lūpwō	lēpwō

Examples:

ā éwá	the child	ē éwá	the girl	pā éwá	the boy
ā àcùò	the tree	ē àcùò	the (woman) tree	(mythical person)	

(Rivierre:144)

8. Haudricourt (1971:365) notes a trial in the Yuanga language of Gomen (Far North).
9. When the first or second person subject pronouns are introduced by the subject marker, they are always emphatic or contrastive, and generally placed after the verb phrase before the object.
10. The ne/na alternation is phonetically conditioned: na appears before the vowel a, ne elsewhere.
11. Here are the most frequent transitivity markers:

IAA suffix -ɔ (most frequent)

belək	to cultivate	belək-ɔ	to cultivate sth
walak	to play	walak-ɔ	to play with sth

lengthening or flexion of the final vowel:

laba	to stay, to sit	labaa	to stay on sth
musi	to be in command	musəə	to order s.o.

other suffixes:

mokut	to lie, to sleep	mokul-ec	to lie on sth
ic	to drink	ij-em	to drink sth
hije	to be carried on someone's back	hijee-n	to carry sth on the back
geju	to be trusting	gejoo-n	to trust

DRE suffix -n/-θ with or without lengthening of the final vowel:

tulu	to make measurements	tulu-θ	to measure sth
pehna	to shoot with a bow, a bow	pehnaa-n	to shoot s.o. with a bow
menu	mistake	menuu-n	make a mistake about
kano	to make a round	kanoo-θ	to surround

suffixes -iin/-εεn/-een:

hweð	to whistle	hweð-iin	to whistle at
menu	harvest, to harvest	menu-εεn	to harvest sth
øl	to cook, cooking pot	øl-een	to cook sth

NEN lengthening of the final vowel + suffix -n:

hnapo	to give birth	hnapoo-n	to give birth to
ruaba	to clean	ruabaa-n	to clean sth
kua	to drink	kuaa-n	to drink sth

suffix -oon:

xaphen	to dig	xaphen-oon	to dig sth
hue	to go	hu-oon	to go on, to go along (road)
du	to cultivate	du-oon	to cultivate sth

12. Main verbal flexions due to nominal object incorporation:

IAA vowel flexion:	vowel flexion + final consonant flexion:
lee → leü to burn	oc → uuk to pull out
taa → te to plant(tree)	

vowel flexion + pre-aspiration or fricativisation of the initial (trace of reduplication):

kap → xap to receive	kot → xuc to hit
la → hle to search	tɔɔt → θəət to lift
an → han to eat	üca → hüce to choose

undetermined form = intransitive form:

ət to cook, cooking pot ɔl-ɔ to cook sth
ət koko to cook yams

undetermined form = personal form:

det form: degec undet/pers form: digic to throw away, to neglect

det form: sə undet/pers form: sii to cut

DRE flexion of the final vowel:

ame → ami to put down

θe → θi to break

kuca → kuci to build

internal vowel alternation:

hwaða → hweðe to say

kapa → kepe to receive

ŋ/i alternation:

deŋ → dei to hear

ðeŋ → ðei to hit with the fist

waŋ → wai to observe

undetermined form = intransitive form:

tulu to make measurements tulu-θ to measure, to weigh

tulu ono to weigh coconuts

undetermined form = personal form

det form: xom undet/pers form: xomi to take

det form: hmiṭaan undet/pers form: hmiṭaa miṭ to vomit meat
hmiṭaa aŋeic to vomit on him

In Nengone, incorporation occurs but has not been described.

13. Here are examples of transitivity of verb phrases with a nominal incorporated object:

IAA ame xəŋxəŋ-hpaam

he+pres/drum undet-palm/

he applauds

ame xəŋxəŋ-hpaam-ɔ ke xumwəŋ

he+pres/drum undet-palm-tr/a/song/

he applauds a song

DRE eni a fi la ieŋen

I/pres/sprinkle/the/flower/

I sprinkle the flower.

eni a fi-tim

I/pres/sprinkle-water/

I sprinkle water.

eni a fi-tim-in la ieŋen

I/pres/sprinkle-water-tr/the/flower/

I sprinkle water on the flower.

14. For example, in Xârâgurè:

ni wâ toa ŋe a kamuru nâ

he/perf/arrive/sm/the/man/there/

The man has arrived.

a kamuru nâ wâ toa

the/man/there/perf/arrive/

The man has arrived.

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ANTICIPATORY VERBAL INTENSIFIERS IN SUNDANESE

R. Hardjadibrata

Sundanese, to a lesser extent Javanese and Madurese, has a large array of 'anticipatory' words which lend a kind of 'verbal interjection' to colour and intensify the meaning of descriptives. They are both verbs as well as adjectives. The present paper* is aimed at not only describing the form and function of this prolific word class, but also to classify their usage, with given examples of these anticipatory verbal intensifiers in context, and to list them for further study in Sundanese syntax. The present paper is based on both dictionary (Coolsma 1913, Satjadibrata 1948, LBSS 1976) as well as on contextual scanning of written materials found in *Kanjutkundang* (Rosidi and Sutiasumarga 1963), an anthology of Sundanese short stories.

Until 1957,¹ Sundanese grammarians refer to this term as *kecap anteuran* or 'anticipatory words', to include all words that we refer to as interjections as well as the verbal interjections that are now known as *kecap panganteur pagawean* or what we designate as 'anticipatory verbal intensifiers'. These words are *jung* in anticipation of the verb *nangtung*; *bray* for the adjective *caang*; *jëbet* for the verb *neunggeul*; *bërëbët* for the verb *lumpat*; and *gantawang* used in conjunction with the verb *nyarekan*. These words are used particularly in idiomatic usage, although they are also used in written language. In colloquial usage these words would be *jung nangtung (and) up he stands*; *bray caang (and) then it cleared up*; *jëbet neunggeul wham (he) hits him*; *bërëbët lumpat (and) away he ran* and *gantawang nyarekan (he) started reprimanding*.

Morphologically these anticipatory verbal intensifiers may be monosyllabic such as *bul*, *bus*, *lëp*, *lës*, etc., disyllabic such as *cëdok*, *habëk*, *heab*, *gamplëng*, *gapruk*, etc. or multisyllabic – normally consisting of three to four syllables such as *baragadal*, *barakatak*, *bërëbët*, *cëlëgëdëg*, *jorojoy*, *kusiwël*, although this four syllable type would be fewer in number. Overall monosyllabic anticipators predominate over the other forms. As these anticipators evoke a sense of onomatopoeia for certain actions, all sounds are fairly well represented, ranging from the more voiced to the lesser voiced or sonorous sounds depending upon the nature of the meaning or perception evoked. Some sounds of the more sonorous consonants are represented by *bul*, *bus*, *jor*, *brol*, and the more frictionless sounds like *sot*, *sok*, *sor*, *lës*, *ret*, etc.

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The monosyllabic anticipators are usually of the V(o), VC(am), CVC(jor) CCV(bru) or CCVC(brĕk) types. Where they have two initial consonant clusters, the second consonant is almost always a liquid, either l or r and in one instance the semivowel y, e.g. bl in bluk, br in brĕk, by in byar, pl in plong, pr in prak, dr in drĕl, tr in tret, jlĕng in jrut, cl in clĕg, cr in creng, sr in srog (Fokker 1953:19).

The disyllabic ones are the CVVC(heab), CVCVC(cĕdok), CVCCVC(gĕblug) and the CVCCVC(kĕncĭng). All of these types are fairly well represented in other word classes, except for the CVCCVC, where we would have expected to include homorganic sounds; oddly enough most of these anticipators have stops in combination with liquids only, such as gĕjlog, gĕbrug and kĕplok. Perhaps it is not so surprising as those words are interjectionary in character that the least sonorous sounds of nasals are absent. Homorganics only occur with the CVCCVC types in words such as gamplĕng, gonjrang, kĕncĭng, kĕncreng, kĕntreung and sĕmpring. Again, the second consonant in the second syllable is almost always a liquid, either l or r, as is the case with the monosyllabic anticipators.

Of the multisyllabics, the three-syllable anticipator predominates both in the number of words as well as in the number of types. Of the trisyllabic ones, the following are fairly represented CVCVCV(burulu) and CVCVCVC(daradad) and to a lesser extent the VCVCV(orolo), just the one type; CVCCVC(kĕclak); CVCCVCVC(gantawang), just the one type; CVCVCVC(barakbak) CVCVCVC(gedeblog); CVCCVC(rongheap), just the one type and CVCVCVCVC(solongkrong). As for the four-syllable one, there is only one type, the CVCVCVCVC(ceuleukeuteuk).

The first to make an observation of this word class was J. Rigg (1862). He refers to them simply as 'idiomatic expressions'. In the introduction to his *Dictionary of the Sunda language of Java*, he observes and distinguishes the importance of this word class, although his description of them appears to be rather flippant, by saying that "they were a remnant of a very crude and aboriginal state of the language" (1862:i), but by the same token what he writes is almost tantamount to saying that they are 'proto' words. For a layman, he observes the great significance of these 'anticipatory' words as "they give strength to the expression... and indicate a precise line of conduct of action" (1862:i). It is S. Coolsma (1873:85-89) who describes them in linguistic terms used at the time and gives a good description of these anticipators. He categorises these words as *zegwoordelijke interjecties* or verbal interjections. He states that these have the form of an interjection, therefore they should be regarded as such, and should be considered as onomatopoeia only in the widest sense of the meaning. He argues that at one time both these groups of words may have been onomatopoeic, and the difference between them comparatively easy to discern. The interjectionary onomatopoeic words remain as they were, no more than interjections. The anticipatory interjections, on the other hand, because of their applicability, in the course of time have had their meanings expanded. They have also undergone changes in function with the result that they are now also used as imperatives to the actions that these words evoke. These in themselves indicate that they can also be described as predicates of actions or states that we observe with a subject. The similarity shared between the two is the onomatopoeia of certain sounds or of certain actions, while with verbals their similarity is the action they evoke. As predicate-evoking actions, they also describe actions or states that we observe in the subject. As interjections, they are followed by verbals, where they must be regarded as the image of the action or state, while as verbals they act independently. Notwithstanding these, there are differences between the two

word classes, because while verbals are the descriptions of the actions or a state in themselves, the meaning of the verbal interjections indicates the coming into that particular state, the process toward that particular action. Coolsma further adds that we must observe that many of these words are the root of verbals, but the verbals do not come into being by way of the present formation. They are also very rarely made into verbs through normal nasalisation process as is the case mostly with verbal roots and bases. Coolsma sums up his observations by saying that they are pronounced as interjections, in other words they are uttered with an exclamatory intonation.

Until the early 1880s most work carried out on Sundanese grammar was done by non-linguists, such as Rigg and Coolsma, a planter and a Bible translator respectively. It was only then that Oosting (1884:146-149), considered as a fully-fledged grammarian, was the first to write a full length grammar on Sundanese. However, he did not elaborate more than what had already been said by Coolsma a decade earlier. Oosting speaks of these words, as Coolsma did, simply as *interjecties* or *tusschenwerpsels*, or 'interjections'. He subsumes under interjections, onomatopoeia to include words of exclamation, of feelings or perceptions as well as words that can be perceived by our senses. The frequent use of the words gives something lively and vivid to the Sundanese language. Perhaps an additional remark he has made is that these interjections are expressions of a more or less successful action to illustrate or depict something that is going to be expressed by verbs following them. Such an interjection, used in conjunction with a verbal, and therefore belonging to or part of that particular verbal, is what is known as a verbal interjection for that verbal. Henceforth, these words are known as *zegwoordelijke interjecties* or verbal interjection. Both Kats (1929) and Lezer (1931) accepted this classification and use them in their Sundanese language textbooks. This terminology is then adopted by Hodson (1952) in the only Sundanese language textbook in English.

Sundanese grammarians use *kecap anteuran* or anticipatory words to include all words from simple interjections to verbal ones — our present 'anticipatory verbal intensifiers'. In 1957, they distinguish² between these two by classifying the true interjections as *kecap anteuran* and the verbal ones as *kecap panganteur pagawean*. The LBSS dictionary gives the following definition of *kecap anteuran*: words evoking or exclaiming feelings or onomatopoeia such as *aduh ouch*; *euleuh gee, gosh*; *ambuing heavens*; *dereded ratatat*; *neng-neng-neng ding-ding-ding*, etc. *Kecap panganteur pagawean* on the other hand is defined as a term to intensify the intention of a speaker when using such words as *gek (and he sits) down*; *jung (and) away (he goes)*; *bray (and the clouds clear) up* or *(the day) breaks*; *reup (and the face) turns (red) or (darkness) falls*, etc. In other words, they are used for affective purposes.

The term 'anticipatory verbal intensifier'³ for these *kecap panganteur pagawean* is most appropriate as these words prepose the verbals. The term anticipatory is self-explanatory, as it anticipates a word (in this case a verbal) and intensifier is so used because these words intensify the meaning of the verbals. Those words subsumed under *kecap anteuran* would therefore be appropriately classified under interjections, to include both exclamations as well as onomatopoeias.⁴

The following sentences will illustrate the various functions of these anticipatory verbal intensifiers, which we will henceforth refer to as anticipators, and which are capitalised in the structure.

- (1a) Manehna JUNG indit
he off went
Off he went.
- (1b) JUNG manehna indit
off he went
Off he went.
- (1c) *Manehna indit JUNG
he went off
- (2a) Manehna TRET nulis surat
he then write letter
He then writes a letter.
- (2b) TRET manehna nulis surat
then he write letter
Then he writes a letter.
- (2c) *Manehna nulis TRET surat
he write then letter
- (2d) *Manehna nulis surat TRET
he write letter then
- (3a) Surat teh TRET ditulis ku manehna
letter the then be written by him
He then wrote the letter.
- (3b) TRET surat teh ditulis ku manehna
then letter the be written by him
He then wrote the letter.
- (3c) *Surat teh ditulis TRET ku manehna
letter the be written by him
- (3d) *Surat teh ditulis ku manehna TRET
letter the be written by him then
- (4a) Seuneu teh PĚS pareum
fire the suddenly be extinguished
The fire suddenly went out.
- (4b) PĚS seuneu teh pareum
suddenly fire the be extinguished
Suddenly the fire went out.
- (4c) *Seuneu teh pareum PĚS
fire the be extinguished suddenly
- (5a) (Beungeutna) REUP geuneuk, RAY pias
(face his) turn red turn pale
(His face) suddenly turns red, and then (it) turns pale.
- (5b) REUP (beungeutna) geuneuk, RAY (beungeutna) pias
turn (face his) red turn (face his) pale
(His face) suddenly turns red, (then it) suddenly turns pale.
- (5c) *(Beungeutna) geuneuk REUP, (beungeutna) pias RAY
(face his) red turns (face his) pale turns

Sentences 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 clearly indicate the position of the anticipators in respect to their verbals. In normal circumstances they precede the predicate as is illustrated in 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a and 5a, or in other instances the anticipators precede the subject 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b and 5b. They definitely cannot follow the verb, as given in the asterisked sentences — 1c, 2c, 2d, 3c, 3d, 4c and 5c.

It is possible to place the anticipator after the verbal, normally with a pause between the verbal and the anticipator. But in that way, it then elicits a different meaning, as the anticipator is used independently, thus —

Manehna indit // JUNG?
 you go then (won't you)?
 You'll go, won't you?

In this case, the anticipator stands independently, as an imperative, almost coaxing the agent to go.

When anticipators are used, these words conjure certain images related to their respective verbals, be it a state or an action, e.g. jung may evoke the idea of getting up and preparing to go, hence it is used with jung nangtung *and up he stands* or with jung indit *and off or away he goes*. So does the anticipator tret which brings to mind the idea of starting to jot something down. Tret anticipates the verb predicate, which, depending upon the focus of the sentence, may either be the active or the passive of tulis *to write* as in tret nulis or tret ditulis. The anticipator tret evokes an image of scratching either of a pen or a pencil or even a piece of chalk on the blackboard. In sentences 4 and 5, the anticipators precede the adjectival predicate — i.e. pēs pareum (4) and reup geuneuk and ray pias (5). The anticipator pēs indicates the sudden and unexpected state of the extinguishing of a fire or lamp while at the same time creating an inchoate effect to the verbal. One can generally assume that with the aid of these anticipators the speaker tries to bring the image of a certain action or state across to the person spoken to as if he, the hearer, experiences the action or state himself. The anticipator reup not only anticipates the word geuneuk, *red* of face when angry, but it can also be used in conjunction with peureum, to close one's eyes when going to sleep, as well as poek for the coming of darkness. Although all of them have different meanings, they all share a common basic idea of darkness or being dark, in geuneuk, getting dark red in the face, seeing darkness when closing one's eyes in peureum, and the darkness itself in the case of poek not to mention the sound associations that this word invokes with the respective verbals. In most cases, these anticipators have a one-to-one basis with the verbals as is the case with ray which is only used with pias, *pale*. Ray brings forth the image of turning pale to those hearing the word uttered. In fact, the anticipators reup and ray in the expression reup geuneuk, ray pias, are almost always used to describe someone getting angry as if at one time he gets red in the face with anger, and at another turns pale because of extreme anger but feels, because of some unmitigating circumstances, unable to give vent to the anger welling up inside him. Some verbs, particularly the more common ones, may have more than one anticipator. The verb cium *to kiss* has four different anticipators: ceot, cēlēngok, cēlēpot and ngok. In these cases each anticipator gives different perceptions in the way the kissing is done, in ceot nyium, the anticipator ceot gives the idea of a passionate kiss. In cēlēpot nyium, cēlēpot brings into mind a longer passionate kiss, whereas in cēlēngok nyium, cēlēngok assumes a friendly, smacking kiss, while in ngok nyium, the anticipator ngok has the meaning of giving

a friendly, almost timid peck. Another verb *lumpat* to run has nine: *bělěnyěng*, *běrěbět*, *běrěngběng*, *bělēcět*, *děrěgděg*, *gěrědět*, *těng*, *sěbrut* and *těrělěng*. *Bělěnyěng* brings into mind the idea of running fast like an arrow, *běrěbět* evokes the idea of running with hard pounding feet on the ground. *Běrěngběng* is a combination of *bělěnyěng* and *běrěbět* in the sense that someone is running fast with heavy pounding feet; *bělēcět*, of running away and able to elude the pursuers; *děrěgděg* conjures the idea of accelerating after a slow start, *gěrědět* is a variant of *děrěgděg*; *těng*, of running for a long time, whereas *sěbrut* brings in an idea of running with great gusto and *těrělěng* of a child still unsure of his steps.

Anticipators are not always used in conjunction with a verbal. In fact some function as verbal predicates to describe a movement as well as actions or state that one observes with a subject. This is particularly used in daily conversation, but seldom in written text. To a Sundanese speaker the use of both the anticipator and its respective verbal is that with the former he tries to conceive or illustrate what he has in his mind's eye and then states it with the respective verb. The close affinity between the anticipators and the verbals is such that the shift in function of these anticipators as predicates or verbal substitutes is not unusual. One uses these quite freely in speech and it is quite clear what they mean.

The following will illustrate anticipators functioning as verbal substitutes.

- (6a) Maneh teh can JUNG keneh?
 you EMPHATIC not go still
You still haven't gone.
- (7a) Kuring rek PRAK, tapi can aya idin bangunana.
 I going to start but not yet have permit building-the
I was going to start, but I haven't got the building permit yet.
- (8a) Bapana geus PLONG bae, ari anak awewena geus
 father-her already relieved just when child his already
 kawin mah
 married EMPH
The father felt relieved when his daughter got married.
- (9a) Amun geus JĒP, kakara diajak
 when already quiet only then be asked
When you are quiet, then (I'll) ask you (to come along).
- (10a) Kardi mah tara daekeun CUL kana pagaweana
 Kardi EMPH never want leave with work-his
Kardi never likes to leave his work (undone).
- (11a) Manehna teu daekeun POK
 he not want speak
He doesn't want to speak.
- (12a) Budak teh LĒP kabawa caah
 child EMPH drown carried flood
The child drowned carried away by the flood.
- (13a) Tukang warung teh teu kaur KOP, aya bae nu ngaganggu.
 keeper stall EMPH not opportunity eat there is just who interrupts.
The stallkeeper hasn't got the chance to eat, there is always someone interrupting.

- (14a) Acan TOP, geus dipenta deui
not yet taken already asked again
I haven't even taken it yet, he asked for it back today.
- (15a) Acan BRO mah moal waka indit
not yet put EMPH will not TIME go
(So long as) he hasn't given the money, I won't go.
- (16a) Budak teh teu daekeun DUG, sakieu geus peutingna
child EMPH not want sleep although already night
The child does not want to sleep, although it is already late.

The independence of anticipators such as dug (6a), prak (7a), plong (8a), jěp (9a), cul (10a), pok (11a), lěp (12a), kop (13a), top (14a), bro (15a) and dug (16a) indicate that they can be used separately as verbal predicatives, and as such they can also be used as short imperatives in colloquial speech as given below:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (6b) JUNG atuh!
<i>go then</i>
<i>Go then!</i> | (7b) PRAK ka dinya!
<i>start to there</i>
<i>Start (working) then!</i> |
| (8b) PLONG atuh!
<i>relieved then</i>
<i>Be relieved then! (to oneself)</i> | (9b) JĚP!
<i>quiet</i>
<i>Be quiet!</i> |
| (10b) CUL heula!
<i>leave first</i>
<i>Leave it (for the moment)</i> | (11b) POK atuh!
<i>speak then</i>
<i>Speak up then!</i> |
| (12b) LĚP!
<i>dive</i>
<i>Dive!</i> | (13b) KOP!
<i>dig-in</i>
<i>Dig in! or Eat it!</i> |
| (14b) TOP!
<i>take</i>
<i>Take it!</i> | (15b) BRO!
<i>dump</i>
<i>Dump it!</i> |
| (16b) DUG atuh!
<i>sleep then</i>
<i>Go to sleep then!</i> | |

All these anticipators such as jung (6b), prak (7b), plong (8b), jěp (9b), cul (10b), pok (11b), lěp (12b), kop (13b), top (14b), bro (15b), and dug (16b) are short peremptory commands to someone to carry out an action that these words represent.

Another aspect of anticipators is that they engender the commencement of some action, the coming into being of that particular state or situation. Most of these anticipators, apart from connotating some sort of intensity, all share the inchoate nature in common. In fact, when translating these anticipators, they are best rendered by way of their inchoative nature, e.g. jung nangtung *up he stands*, bray caang *and it started to light up or dawn is breaking*, lěs leungit *and it suddenly disappears*, etc.

Finally, some of these anticipators are onomatopoeic in character as we have indicated earlier in the paper.

From the above discussion and after careful examination of anticipators listed in the appendix, we are in a position to make the following conclusions based on semantic as well as functional considerations:

- (i) That the great majority of these anticipators are employed to intensify and evoke a degree of vividness to a description of some event;
- (ii) that some of these anticipators, mostly of the monosyllabic type, can be described as a verbal substitute, hence functioning as a predicate of an action or a state;
- (iii) that some of these anticipators, particularly the monosyllabic ones, lend themselves as short commands;
- (iv) that the great majority of these anticipators indicate the commencement of some action, and can be considered as inchoatives; and
- (v) that many of these anticipators are onomatopoeias of an action or state.

Based on the above conclusions, we have therefore categorised each of the anticipators listed in the appendix with Roman numerals indicating that the respective anticipator may function as: i. intensifier, ii. verbal substitute, iii. imperative, iv. inchoative and v. onomatopoeia. Many of the anticipators may exhibit all the above functions, some, in fact the majority, only function as intensifier as well as inchoatives.

NOTES

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1. Discussions with well-known Sundanese educators and linguists at IKIP Bandung. Robins (1968) subsumed this word class under the general heading of particles.
2. Personal communication with Dr. Yus Rusyana of IKIP Bandung saying that a decision was made by a committee on Sundanese Grammar to differentiate the two types of words, i.e. the interjections and anticipators. This was adopted by LBSS (1976:11) when they published the dictionary in 1976.
3. After considerable discussion with colleagues around the campuses of Melbourne, J.P. Sarumpaet of the University of Melbourne suggested the term 'anticipatory' for this word class, which I gratefully accept, and herewith I acknowledge his contribution.
4. I was not aware of M.A. Salmun's statement. This is an oversight which should not have been made in a work like this considering his stature in Sundanese circles. He is quoted by Mariati (1979:394-396) as saying that anticipators also precede nominals. Salmun refers to it as *sandisora*, sound gemination. If that is the case, then the title of my paper is a misnomer. However, one could argue that in the case of *dur bėdug*, the verbal is missing in the sense that the whole statement could or should have been *dur bėdug (disada) and the drums sounded* or freely rendered at the time the call to prayers sounded, or at the time the sound of drums rumbled; *dor bėdil (dibėkaskeun)*, and a shot was fired; *neng loceng (disada)*, and the clock chimed; *cruk pacul (ngagecruk)*, and the sound of the hoe thudded, etc. One can take the argument even further, saying that

in the case of these nominal anticipators, if I can put them under this heading, the subjects are always inanimate. In fact these nominal anticipators can be classified in the same category as the adjectival anticipators, i.e. most of the anticipators with adjectives have an inanimate or non-agentive subject.

- c.f. 1. (Beungeutna) REUP geuneuk
His face turns red (with anger).
2. (Poena) BRAY caang
The day grew light or dawn broke.
3. (Caina) TEP panas
The water turns hot (to touch).
4. (Leungeunna) CĚP tiis
His hand is cold (to touch).
5. (Seuneuna) PĚS pareum
The fire went out.
6. (Lampuna) PES pareum
The lights went off.

With this argument in mind, I therefore limit myself to the verbal rather than the marginal cases such as *dur*, *dor*, *cruk* which in my case will be categorised under the interjections.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF ANTICIPATORY VERBAL INTENSIFIERS

AM dihuapkeun	i ii iii iv v	and he swallowed a mouthful
BAR diamparkeun	i iv v	it was then spread ...
BARABAY ngĕdat	i iv	and it stretches in a straight line (of condensation or falling star in the sky)
BARABAT nyaritakeun	i iv	and he began to tell a story
BARAGADAL ditaranjang	i iv	and flung his clothes off till he was naked
BARAKBAK katingal	i iv	and behold a vista of ...
BARANANG caang	i iv	and the light grew bright
BARANYAY kilat	i iv	and lightning flashed
BAT ngĕmbat	i iv v	and there the road stretches on endlessly
BAY ngambay	i iv v	and there it dangles
BEH kapanggih	i iv	and there it was
BĚK dahar	i ii iii iv	and he started to eat
BĚĚCĚN ditaranjang	i iv	off went his clothes naked
BĚĚCĚT lumpat	i iv	and away he escaped

BĚĽĚDAG mestol	i ii iii iv v	<i>bang he shoots (with a pistol)</i>
BĚĽĚDUG bitu	i ii iii iv v	<i>Boom! It exploded</i>
BĚĽĚĜĚĎĚĜ nanjeur	i iv	<i>and a pall of smoke rises</i>
BĚĽĚKUK mĚbĚs	i iv v	<i>and he sank down to ...</i>
BĚĽĚNGEH bĚte	i iv	<i>and it cracked open</i>
BĚĽĚNYEH seurĭ	i iv	<i>and he broke into a grin</i>
BĚĽĚNYĚNG lumpat	i iv	<i>tearing away, he ran fast</i>
BĚĽĚSAT lĚpas	i iv v	<i>and swiftly flew the arrow</i>
BĚĽĚSĚK mĚbĚs	i iv v	<i>and he sank down to</i>
BĚĽĚSUR lĚpas	i iv v	<i>and the arrow flew off</i>
BĚĽĚTEK peupeus	i iv v	<i>and cracked, it broke (into pieces)</i>
BĚĽĚTOK peunggas	i iv v	<i>and crack, it broke off</i>
BĚĽĚTUK bucat	i iv v	<i>and (the boil) burst open; and he ejaculated</i>
BĚĽĚWĚK dihuapkeun	i iv v	<i>and he gobbled a mouthful</i>
BĚĽĚWĚR dialungkeun	i iv	<i>and he flung it away</i>
BĚNG indit	i iv	<i>and he went off far away</i>
BĚR hibĚr	i iv v	<i>and away they all fluttered and flew</i>
BĚRĚBĚT lumpat	i iv	<i>and he ran away fast</i>
BĚRĚGBĚNG lumpat	i iv	<i>and he ran away</i>
BĚRĚSĚL mĚrĚjĚl	i iv	<i>and it oozed out</i>
BĚRĚSĚT bijil	i iv	<i>and it flowed down thickly</i>
BĚRĚYĚK ngariuhan	i iv	<i>they all ran for shelter</i>
BĚS dibĚbĚskeun	i ii iii iv v	<i>and he forced it in</i>
BĚT potong	i iv v	<i>crack, it broke in two</i>
BIĚR mabur	i iv	<i>and away he escaped</i>
BIUR mabur	i iv	<i>and (the flock) ran away</i>
BLAK nangkarak	i iv v	<i>and he fell on his back</i>
BLAK dibuka		<i>and he opened it wide</i>
BLĚK labuh	i iv v	<i>and he fell down with a thud</i>
BLĚS nublĚs	i ii iii iv v	<i>and he stabbed him up to the hilt</i>
BLUG labuh	i ii iii iv v	<i>and he fell down with a dull thud</i>
BLUK nyuuu	i iv v	<i>and she flung herself down in submission</i>
BLUK nangkuban		<i>and there he fell on his face</i>
BLUS asup	i ii iii iv v	<i>and he got in</i>
BOROBOT bĚdah	i iv v	<i>and (the dam) gave way with a roar</i>
BOROSOT modol	i iv v	<i>and he started to defecate</i>

BRAK dalahar	i	iv	<i>and they proceeded to eat</i>
BRAL arindit	i ii iii	iv	<i>and they set out on a journey</i>
BRAY muka	i ii iii	iv	<i>and it opened up</i>
BRAY caang			<i>dawn breaks, or, and it becomes light</i>
BRĚG hujan	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and suddenly rain poured down</i>
BREH katembong	i	iv	<i>and there I caught a glimpse of ...</i>
BRĚK gĕring	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he fell ill</i>
BRĚL pĕgat	i	iv v	<i>the string snapped in two</i>
BRĚNG halibĕr	i	iv v	<i>and the birds flapped away</i>
BRĚS diasupkeun	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he stuffed it in</i>
BRĚT pĕgat	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and the string snapped (in two)</i>
BRING arindit	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and away they set out together</i>
BRO ditambrukeun	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he dumped it down</i>
BRO mere duit			<i>and he gave loads of money</i>
BROL ngajuru	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and she gave birth</i>
BRU ditambrukeun	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he put it down in a heap</i>
BRUG dipeundeutkan	i	iv v	<i>and he slammed the door shut</i>
BRUL ngabrul	i	iv	<i>and the crowd moved off</i>
BRUNG ditabeuh	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and they proceeded to play</i>
BRUS mandi	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he jumped in to have a shower</i>
BUL ngĕlun	i	iv	<i>smoke billowed</i>
BULUBUS asup	i	iv v	<i>and he went in surreptitiously</i>
BURIAK bubar	i	iv	<i>and they all dispersed helter skelter</i>
BURIAL bijil	i	iv	<i>and it began to ooze out</i>
BURUBUL ngabrul	i	iv	<i>and people moved out in numbers</i>
BURUBUL budal			<i>and the crowd dispersed</i>
BURUBUT marurag	i	iv v	<i>and (the ripe fruit) fell (in numbers)</i>
BURULU dikaluarkeun	i	iv v	<i>and he tipped everything out</i>
BURUSUT ngising	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and there he defecates</i>
BUS diasupkeun	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he slipped it in</i>
BYAR caang	i	iv	<i>it then grew light</i>
CAG diecagkeun	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he put it down</i>
CAG ditunda			<i>and he put it down</i>
CAG diteundeun			<i>and he put it away</i>
CAT unggah	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he climbed up</i>
CAT naek			<i>and he climbed up, up he went</i>
CE nece	i	iv	<i>putting his feet down, he stepped on ...</i>

CE nincak				<i>putting his feet down, he stepped on ...</i>
CĚDOK nyěmbah	i	iv		<i>with deference he paid homage</i>
CĚKAP dicapluk	i	iv		<i>and there it is gobbled up</i>
CEKLAK mancal	i	iv		<i>and he mounted</i>
CĚLĚGĚDĚG nangtung	i	iv		<i>and he stood up rudely</i>
CĚLĚGĚNĚNG nangtung	i	iv		<i>raising himself, he stood awkwardly</i>
CEOT nyium	i	iv v		<i>and he kissed her passionately</i>
CĚS kěmpes	i	iv v		<i>and the tyres went flat</i>
CĚB ditancěbkeun	i ii iii	iv v		<i>and he stuck in on the ground</i>
CĚG dicěkěl	i	iv v		<i>and he got hold of</i>
CĚK ditewak	i	iv v		<i>laying his hand, he seized him</i>
CĚKEUK sisidueun	i ii iii	iv v		<i>and he started hiccupping</i>
CĚKIT direm	i	iv v		<i>and he slammed on the brakes hard</i>
CĚL kembangan	i	iv		<i>and it started to bloom</i>
CĚLĚBĚK dahar	i	iv		<i>and he ate ravenously</i>
CĚLĚNGOK nyium	i	iv v		<i>and smack, he gave her a kiss</i>
CĚLĚPOT nyium	i	iv v		<i>and he proceeded to kiss her passionately</i>
CĚLĚTET nyoco	i	iv		<i>and an insect stung</i>
CĚNG ngacěng	i	iv		<i>and he had a stiff erection</i>
CĚP tiis	i	iv		<i>and it gets cold (when touching cold things)</i>
CĚPRUT hitut	i	iv v		<i>and he broke wind</i>
CĚRĚLĚNG ngucur	i	iv v		<i>and there it pours</i>
CĚTREK dicaangkeun	i	iv v		<i>click, he turned the light on</i>
CĚTROK dikokos	i	iv v		<i>crushing, (the beast) broke the bones</i>
CĚLĚTROK dikokos	i	iv v		<i>(stronger than the previous one)</i>
CEUKEUKEUK seuri	i	iv v		<i>and (he) burst out laughing</i>
CEULEUKEUTEUK seuri	i	iv v		<i>and (he) burst out laughing</i>
CIG indit	i ii iii	iv		<i>and off he went</i>
CIKIKIK seuri	i	iv v		<i>and (she) broke into a giggle</i>
CIT ricit	i	iv v		<i>and the birds started chirping noisily</i>
CLAK tumpak	i	iv v		<i>and he mounted</i>
CĚG eunteup	i	iv		<i>and then it perched</i>
CĚLĚG dipěclěngkeun	i	iv		<i>and he flicked it away</i>
CLIK murag	i	iv v		<i>and it fell</i>
CLO diuk	i	iv		<i>and he sat down</i>
CLOG ngaclog	i	iv		<i>and he jumped out</i>

CLOK datang	i	iv v	<i>and he blew in out of nowhere</i>
CLUNG dikunclungkeun	i	iv	<i>splash, he was thrown in the water</i>
COK dipacok	i	iv	<i>and the snake bit him</i>
COP bogoh	i	iv	<i>and she grew to like it</i>
COR dikocorkeun	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he turned the water on</i>
COROCOS diasupkeun	i	iv v	<i>and he immersed the hot iron in the water</i>
COS disuntik	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he was inoculated</i>
CRENG dibayar	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he paid cash</i>
CRET ngising	i ii	v	<i>and the birds shat</i>
CRĚK digawe	i ii	iv	<i>and he started to work</i>
CRĚK kawin			<i>and he got married</i>
CROT nyiduh	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he spat out</i>
CRUB ancrub	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he got in the water</i>
CUL ditinggalkeun	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he abandoned it</i>
CUL dipiceun			<i>and he threw (chucked) it away</i>
CUR dicicileun	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and she poured it out</i>
CUR dieurikeun			<i>and she poured it over</i>
CUR dibanjur			<i>and she began to hose it up</i>
CUR dileob			<i>and she started to scald ...</i>
CUR hujan			<i>and the rain came pouring down</i>
DARADAD nyaritakeun	i	iv v	<i>and he proceeded to tell</i>
DĚG ngadĚgkeun	i ii iii	iv	<i>and there he puts up a house</i>
DĚK digawe	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he started working</i>
DĚR perang	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and war broke out</i>
DĚRĚGDĚG lumpat	i	iv v	<i>tearing away, he ran</i>
DĚS pinggĚs	i	iv	<i>and the branch broke</i>
DOR dibĚkaskeun	i ii iii	iv v	<i>bang, a shot was fired</i>
DUG sare	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he lay down to sleep</i>
GABLĚS nublĚs	i	iv v	<i>and there he stabbed</i>
GABRĚS ditĚwĚk	i	iv v	<i>and there he cut</i>
GABRUG ngarangkul	i	iv v	<i>and there he embraced</i>
GAJLĚNG luncat	i	iv	<i>and he swung over and took a leap</i>
GALANTANG nyarita	i	iv	<i>and he began to speak</i>
GAMPLĚNG nampiling	i	iv	<i>and he 'clobbered' him</i>
GANTAWANG nyarekan	i	iv v	<i>and he started reprimanding</i>
GAP nyabak	i	iv	<i>and he reached out</i>

GAPLOK nyabok	i	iv v	<i>and he 'clobbered' him</i>
GAPRUK ditewak	i	iv v	<i>and he grabbed hold of</i>
GAUK ceurik	i	iv v	<i>and she cried loudly</i>
GAUR ngagaur	i	iv v	<i>and the animal roared</i>
GAWAWAK nyarekan	i	iv v	<i>and he proceeded to abuse</i>
GĚBLAY keupat	i	iv	<i>and she walked swaying sensuously</i>
GĚBLUG labuh	i	iv v	<i>and he fell with a dull thud</i>
GĚBUT tibeubeut	i	iv v	<i>and he fell heavily on the ground</i>
GĚCRUK macul	i	iv v	<i>and he proceeded to hoe</i>
GĚCOS ditojoskeun	i	iv v	<i>and there he stabbed ...</i>
GĚDĚBLUG labuh	i	iv v	<i>and he fell with a heavy thud</i>
GĚDOR diteumbrag	i	iv v	<i>bang, he knocked it down</i>
GĚDUG nutu	i	iv v	<i>and she started pounding</i>
GĚDUK tidagor	i	iv v	<i>bang, he hit his head ...</i>
GĚJLIG indit	i	iv v	<i>and away he went angrily; and he went off in a huff</i>
GĚJOS ditubleskeun	i	iv v	<i>and he stabbed him</i>
GĚJRET pejet	i	iv v	<i>splat, it crumpled to</i>
GEK diuk	i ii iii	iv	<i>and down he sat</i>
GĚL dikadek	i	iv v	<i>snap, he chopped it off</i>
GĚLEBĚR hibĚr	i	iv v	<i>and the birds flew off</i>
GĚLĚĚR bitu	i	iv v	<i>boom, it erupted with a loud rumbling</i>
GĚLĚNCĚNG lesot	i	iv	<i>and the wheel came off its axle</i>
GĚLĚSĚR maju	i	iv v	<i>and it swung into motion</i>
GĚLĚTĚK caah	i	iv	<i>and water rises to a flood</i>
GĚLĚTUK tidagor	i	iv v	<i>and bang he hit his head</i>
GĚLETRUK tidagor	i	iv v	<i>(as above)</i>
GĚLEYĚR maju	i	iv v	<i>and the train swung into motion</i>
GĚN ditagĚnkeun	i ii iii	iv	<i>laying the pan on the fire, to cook</i>
GĚNYĚNYĚNG dibawa	i	iv	<i>and with a tug, the fish caught the line</i>
GĚNYĚNYĚNG nyanggut			<i>and he felt something dragging the line</i>
GĚP ngegel	i	iv	<i>and (the dog) bit hard</i>
GĚR pasea	i	iv v	<i>and they began quarrelling</i>
GĚR seuri			<i>and he burst out laughing</i>
GĚR surak			<i>and the crowd cheered</i>
GĚRĚDĚG lumpat	i	iv v	<i>and he ran with all his might</i>

GERESEL dipeuncit	i	iv	<i>whittling he cuts its throat</i>
GEREWEK nyarekan	i	iv v	<i>and she started abusing in a high-pitched voice</i>
GĖS pinggĖs	i	iv	<i>and it broke in two</i>
GEULEUYEUNG maju	i	iv v	<i>and it swung into motion</i>
GEULEUYEUR maju	i	iv v	<i>(as above)</i>
GEWEWEK nyarekan	i	iv v	<i>and she started abusing in a high-pitched voice</i>
GĖWĖWĖK ngegel	i	iv	<i>putting its teeth on it, the dog bit hard</i>
GOCRAK dibayar	i	iv v	<i>and he threw down the money, to pay</i>
GOG cingogo	i	iv	<i>and there he squatted</i>
GOK panggih	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he came to meet</i>
GOLOKGOK dicicikeun	i	iv v	<i>with a gurgling sound he poured it out</i>
GOLOSOR dibikeun	i	iv	<i>he took it and gave it away</i>
GOLOYOH sare	i	iv	<i>he stretched and went to sleep</i>
GONJRANG dibayar	i	iv v	<i>and he paid in cash</i>
GOREHEL manggihan	i	iv	<i>and there I found</i>
GOREHEL nimu			<i>(as above)</i>
GORONJANG dibayar	i	iv v	<i>and he paid in cash</i>
GUBRAG tiguling	i	iv v	<i>and it rolled over</i>
GUR hurung	i	iv v	<i>it burst in flames</i>
GURUDUG ngaliwat	i	iv v	<i>and the carriage rumbled along</i>
GURUJAG datang	i	iv v	<i>making a commotion, he came in</i>
GURUTAK datang	i	iv v	<i>(as above)</i>
GUTRUT nulis	i	iv v	<i>and away he wrote with zeal</i>
HABĖK neunggeul	i	iv v	<i>with a thud, he thumped him</i>
HEAT ngadek	i	iv	<i>swish he swung his machete</i>
HEAT numbuk			<i>thud, he butted</i>
HEKAK dahar	i	iv	<i>and he sat down to a meal</i>
HING ceurik	i	iv	<i>and she broke into tears</i>
HIUK ngagĖlĖbug	i	iv v	<i>and the wind blew with such a force</i>
HIUS ngahiliwir	i	iv v	<i>and a light breeze blew</i>
HOL datang	i	iv v	<i>and (there) he turned up!</i>
HOS paeh	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he dropped dead</i>
JĖBLUS dibui	i	iv v	<i>and he was thrown in jail</i>
JĖBĖT neunggeul	i	iv v	<i>and he gave him a thump</i>
JĖBOT neunggeul	i	iv v	<i>(as above, but stronger)</i>

JĚBRUD pĕgat	i	iv	<i>it snapped in two</i>
JĚBUL datang	i	iv	<i>and (there) he came out of nowhere</i>
JĚDAK tidagor	i	iv v	<i>bump, he hit his head</i>
JĚDED neunggeul	i	iv v	<i>and he hit him</i>
JĚDOD neunggeul	i	iv v	<i>(as above, but stronger)</i>
JĚDUD dicabut	i	iv v	<i>and he pulled with a quick tug</i>
JĚDUD pegat			<i>snap, it broke in two</i>
JĚGOG ngagogog	i	iv v	<i>and the dog started barking</i>
JĚGUG ngagugug	i	iv v	<i>(as above)</i>
JĚGUR hurung	i	iv v	<i>and it burst in flames</i>
JĚKEK ngadek	i	iv v	<i>whack, he chopped it</i>
JĚKEK neunggeul			<i>and he hit him</i>
JĚKOK nonjok	i	iv v	<i>and he threw a punch</i>
JĚLĚBET neunggeul	i	iv v	<i>and thump, he hit him hard</i>
JĚP jĕmpe	i ii iii	iv	<i>and silence reigned</i>
JĚPLOK manah	i	iv v	<i>with a thud, he let go the arrow</i>
JĚPLOK nancĕb			<i>with a thud the arrow pierced</i>
JĚPLUK murag	i	iv v	<i>and down it fell</i>
JĚPRET dikonci	i	iv v	<i>turning the keys, he locked the door</i>
JĚPROT nĕnggĕl	i	iv v	<i>with a thud it pierced</i>
JĚPROT manah			<i>with a thud, he let go the arrow</i>
JĚPRUT pĕgat	i	iv v	<i>and the string broke in two</i>
JĚTOT nonjok	i	iv	<i>and he threw a punch</i>
JIG indit	i ii iii	iv	<i>away he went</i>
JLĚG nembongan	i	iv	<i>and there it suddenly appeared</i>
JLĚNG luncat	i ii iii	iv	<i>he swung his legs and jumped out</i>
JLIG turun	i	iv v	<i>and he got off angrily</i>
JLOG anjog	i	iv	<i>and there he arrived at his destination</i>
JOG anjog	i	iv	<i>(as above)</i>
JOL datang	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he popped in our of nowhere</i>
JOR mantog	i ii iii	iv	<i>go on, get out of my sight</i>
JOS nyolok	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he poked, making him angry</i>
JOS nojos			<i>and he pierced it</i>
JRĚL ngajuru	i	iv	<i>and (the horse) foaled</i>
JROT nyiduh	i	iv v	<i>and he spat out a mouthful</i>
JRUT tuturubun	i	iv v	<i>and there he goes downhill in a hurry</i>

JRUT ajrut			<i>and there he jumped down</i>
JUG dijugjug	i	iv	<i>and he proceeded to ...</i>
JUL diajul	i	iv	<i>poking, he thrust ...</i>
JUNG nangtung	i ii iii iv		<i>and he got up</i>
JUT turun	i ii iii iv		<i>and he got down</i>
KALACAT unggah	i	iv	<i>and he climbed up the steps</i>
KAPLOK nyabok	i	iv v	<i>pow, he gave him a slap</i>
KĚCLAK tumpak	i	iv	<i>and he mounted ...</i>
KĚCEK ngadek	i	iv v	<i>and he slashed the ...</i>
KĚCOK macok	i	iv v	<i>and suddenly the bird picked with its beak</i>
KĚCOS nojos	i	iv	<i>and he pierced it</i>
KĚCROT nyiduh	i	iv v	<i>and he spat out</i>
KĚCRUK macul	i	iv v	<i>and away he hoed</i>
KĚDĚWĚK dahar	i	iv	<i>and he ate greedily</i>
KĚK nyekel	i	iv v	<i>and laying his hand on the thing, he got hold of it</i>
KĚK ditewak			<i>and laying hands on him, he seized him</i>
KĚLĚCIS udud	i	iv	<i>and there he is (of a child) smoking a cigarette</i>
KĚLĚPĚK kapaehan	i	iv	<i>and there she collapsed and fell unconscious</i>
KĚLĚPĚR hibĕr	i	iv v	<i>and it flapped away</i>
KĚLĚPUS udud	i	iv	<i>and he started smoking</i>
KĚLĚTIS ngomong	i	iv	<i>and without knowing he divulged</i>
KĚLĚWĚNG dialungkeun	i	iv	<i>and he flung it away</i>
KĚLET imut	i	iv	<i>and she broke into a smile</i>
KĚNCLING indit	i	iv	<i>without saying a word, he went away</i>
KĚNCRENG dibayar	i	iv v	<i>and he paid there and then</i>
KĚNTREUNG ninun	i	iv v	<i>and she proceeded to weave</i>
KĚPLAS nilas	i	iv v	<i>and he chopped it with a single blow</i>
KĚRĚLĚK paeh	i	iv v	<i>with a death rattle he fell dead</i>
KĚRĚLĚP titeuleum	i	iv v	<i>bubbles escaping he drowned</i>
KĚRĚLĚS ngaleungit	i	iv	<i>in the twinkling of an eye it disappeared</i>
KĚRĚWĚD ditalian	i	iv	<i>tying it down, he made a knot</i>
KĚRĚWĚK ditewak	i	iv	<i>pouncing on him, he seized him</i>
KĚRĚWĚK nyekel			<i>pouncing on him, he got hold of him</i>
KĚRĚWĚS didahar	i	iv	<i>and he gobbled the food down like an animal</i>
KĚTREK dipekprek	i	iv v	<i>and he cracked it open</i>

KĚTROK ditakol	i	iv v	<i>and he gave a rap with his knuckles</i>
KĚY saleuseurian	i	iv	<i>and they broke out laughing</i>
KILIWING dibalangkeun	i	iv	<i>and he flung it away</i>
KLEUNG ngangkleung	i	iv	<i>and the boat floated away</i>
KOD ngakod	i	iv	<i>and he carried the child on his back</i>
KOP cokot	i	iv	<i>go on, get it</i>
KOREJAT hudang	i	iv	<i>and he woke up with a start</i>
KORELENG balik deui	i	iv	<i>and there he is, back again</i>
KOTRET nulis	i	iv	<i>putting down his pen he jotted down</i>
KUDUPRUK labuh	i	iv v	<i>and there she fell</i>
KUDUPRUK nyuuh	i	iv v	<i>and she flung herself down in submission</i>
KUNIANg hudang	i	iv	<i>and he got up slowly</i>
KURUNYUNG datang	i	iv	<i>and he came leisurely into view</i>
KURUTAK datang	i	iv v	<i>and he came with a fuss</i>
KUSIWĚL ngodok	i	iv	<i>and he groped for money in his pocket</i>
LAR ngaliwat	i	iv	<i>and he passed by</i>
LAT poho	i	iv	<i>and suddenly he forgot</i>
LAY ngĕlay	i	iv	<i>and there he drooled</i>
LEB caah	i	iv	<i>and it suddenly flooded</i>
LEB leber			<i>and the water overflowed</i>
LĚG ditĕlĕg	i	iii iv v	<i>and he swallowed it whole</i>
LĚG diteureuy			<i>(as above)</i>
LĚGUK diinum	i	iv v	<i>and he drank with big gulps</i>
LEKEK dipeuncit	i	iv	<i>whittling he slaughtered the chook</i>
LEL ngĕlel	i	iv	<i>and he stuck out his tongue</i>
LĚNG lieur	i	iv	<i>and he was overcome by a headache</i>
LĚNGGUT nundutan	i	iv	<i>and he nodded off to sleep</i>
LEONG ngagaleong	i	iv	<i>and the boat swung away</i>
LEONG palid			<i>and it floated away</i>
LĚP teuleum	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and down he dived</i>
LĚS ngaleungit	i	iv	<i>and it disappeared into thin air</i>
LĚS ngilĕs			<i>and he sneaked off</i>
LEUGEUDEUT ngaleut	i	iv	<i>and a long column marched past</i>
LEUT ngaleut	i	iv	<i>(as above)</i>
LĚY ngaley	i	iv	<i>and it melted</i>
LĚY ngelay			<i>and there she drooled</i>

LĒYE ditincak	i	iv	<i>putting his foot down, he crushed</i>
LOD ngagĕdean	i	iv	<i>and the child grew big</i>
LOD ngajangkungan			<i>and the child grew taller</i>
LOGODOR bijil	i	iv	<i>and there it stuck out of the hole</i>
LOL ngĕlol	i	iv	<i>and there he turned up</i>
LOL nongtot			<i>and there it appeared out of the hold</i>
LOS indit	i ii iii	iv	<i>off he went</i>
LUK ngĕluk	i	iv	<i>and down it drooped; and he bowed down disconsolately</i>
LUNG dialungkeun	i	iv	<i>and he flung it away</i>
LUR ditinggalkeun	i	iv	<i>and there he left it</i>
MĚG handeueul	i	iv	<i>and a feeling of regret came over him</i>
NĚG harĕnĕg	i	iv	<i>and there I was feeling startled</i>
NEUT hudang	i	iv	<i>and there he got up leisurely</i>
NGĚK ceurik	i	iv v	<i>there he cried</i>
NGENG ceurik	i	iv v	<i>(as above)</i>
NGĚK ngabĕtĕm	i	iv	<i>suddenly not a word was said</i>
NGĚK teu patanya			<i>and suddenly they didn't talk to each other</i>
NGOK nyium	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and he gave her a peck</i>
NGONG disada	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and suddenly it gave a sound</i>
NGONG nĕmbang			<i>and suddenly she sang</i>
NYAH beunta	i	iv	<i>and he opened his eyes</i>
NYAT dijait	i	iv	<i>and she took the pan out of the fire</i>
NYAY ngaburinyay	i	iv	<i>and a flash of lightning strikes</i>
NYĚD nyanggut	i	iv	<i>and he felt something tugging</i>
NYEH imut	i	iv	<i>and she broke into a smile</i>
NYĚN imut	i	iv	<i>(as above)</i>
NYOD ngenyod	i	iv	<i>and down it sagged</i>
NYOT udud	i	iv	<i>and he started to smoke</i>
NYUD nyanggut	i	iv	<i>with a tug he caught (the fish)</i>
O utah	i	iv v	<i>and there he vomited</i>
OROLO utah	i	iv v	<i>(as above, but stronger)</i>
PARALAK nyaritakeun	i	iv v	<i>and he proceeded to tell</i>
PAT sapat	i	iv	<i>and it is completely cut off</i>
PEK lampahkeun	i ii iii	iv	<i>go ahead and do it</i>
PEK rasakeun			<i>eat your heart out!</i>

PĚK kapiuhan	i	iv	<i>and she fainted</i>
PĚL ditapælkeun	i	iv	<i>and he stuck it on</i>
PĚLĚDĚK bau	i	iv	<i>and a bad smell suddenly exuded</i>
PĚLĚNGHIR seungit	i	iv	<i>and a nice smell suddenly exuded</i>
PĚNG ngapung	i	iv	<i>and it flew off</i>
PĚR ngělĕpĕr	i	iv	<i>and he trembled</i>
PĚS pareum	i	iv	<i>and suddenly it went out</i>
PĚS pupus			<i>and there he died</i>
PĚT eureun	i	iv	<i>and suddenly it stopped</i>
PĚT patong			<i>and it broke in two</i>
PĚT pĕgat			<i>and the thread broke</i>
PLAS nilas	i	iv v	<i>chop, he cut it through</i>
PLĚNG ngamplĕng	i	iv	<i>and he stayed away a long time</i>
PLOK naplok	i	iv	<i>and there it stuck (on the wall)</i>
PLONG ngĕmplong	i ii iii	iv	<i>and there it was a yard wide open</i>
POK ngomong	i ii iii	iv v	<i>opening his mouth, he spoke</i>
POROSOT diporosotkeun	i	iv	<i>and he started unbuckling</i>
POT lepot	i	iv	<i>and it slipped off</i>
POT lesot			<i>and it came off</i>
PRAK dahar	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he started to eat</i>
PRAK diajar			<i>and he began to study</i>
PRAK digawe			<i>and he started to work</i>
PRĚT hitut	i	iv v	<i>and he broke wind</i>
PRĚT pĕgat			<i>snap, it broke in two</i>
PROK paamprok	i	iv	<i>and they got to meet</i>
PRUK kawin	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he got married</i>
PRUNG ngamen	i ii iii	iv	<i>and they proceeded to play</i>
PRUNG pĕpĕgatan			<i>and they filed j'or divorce</i>
PRUNG pĕgat			<i>and it broke in two</i>
PUCUNGHUL datang	i	iv	<i>and there he was coming into view</i>
PUCUNGHUL katembong			<i>and there it was (visible)</i>
PUNG ngapung	i	iv	<i>and the plane took off</i>
PUR dileupaskeun	i	iv	<i>and he let it go</i>
PUR kabur			<i>and he got away</i>
PUS lunas	i	iv	<i>and there (the debt) is settled</i>
RAGOK naranya	i	iv	<i>and everyone asked all about it</i>

RAGOT garĕlut	i	iv	<i>and they got into a fight</i>
RAGOT pasea			<i>and they got into an argument</i>
RAONG naranya	i	iv v	<i>and they all began to ask</i>
RAP dangdan	i	iv	<i>and he began to dress</i>
RAS ingĕt	i	iv	<i>and suddenly he remembered</i>
RAY pias	i	iv	<i>and he turned pale</i>
REANG careurik	i	iv	<i>and they all cried loudly</i>
RĔD dibeungkeut	i	iv v	<i>and it was tied down tightly</i>
RĔG eureun	i	iv	<i>and then he stopped; and it came to a standstill</i>
RĔG ngarandĕg			<i>and he paused a moment</i>
RĔGĔYĔNG dipanggul	i	iv	<i>and they all carried it off on their shoulders</i>
RĔGOT nginum	i	iv	<i>with great gulps he drank it up</i>
RĔKĔTĔK dibeungkeut	i	iv v	<i>pulling the ropes tightly, he tied a knot</i>
RĔKĔTĔK ditalian			<i>and he tied him down</i>
RĔMUS didahar	i	iv v	<i>crushing it, the dog ate it</i>
RĔNG jaradi	i	iv	<i>and (weeds) started to grow all over</i>
RĔP repeh	i	iv	<i>and (the crying) subsided</i>
RĔP jĕmpe			<i>and all went quiet</i>
RĔT baeud	i	iv	<i>and he became angry</i>
RĔT dibeungkeut			<i>and he tied it down tight</i>
RET ngareret	i	iv	<i>and he glanced at him</i>
RĔY ngewa	i	iv	<i>and he was disgusted</i>
RĔY sĕbbĕl			<i>and he felt sick (of it)</i>
RĔY nirisan			<i>and he became feverish</i>
REUP geuneuk	i	iv	<i>and he turned red in the face</i>
REUP poek			<i>and it became dark; it got dark; it grew dark</i>
REUP peureum			<i>and she closed her eyes</i>
RIGIDIG dipanggul	i	iv	<i>and he carried it off on his shoulder</i>
ROB ngarogrog	i	iv	<i>and the crowd thronged about</i>
RONGHEAP datang	i	iv	<i>and he came breathlessly in</i>
ROT diinum	i	iv	<i>and he drank it down</i>
ROY hoyong	i	iv	<i>and a desire overcame him; and he was overcome by desire</i>
RUKUTUK ngising	i	iv v	<i>and he defecated</i>
RUMPUYUK ngaluuh	i	iv	<i>and she fell in a heap</i>

RUP dirimbunan	i	iv	<i>and it was then covered over</i>
RUP dirungkup			<i>and he flung the net</i>
RUT ngising	i	iv	<i>and he defecated</i>
SĚBRENG nyingsring	i	iv v	<i>and he blew his nose</i>
SĚBRET mĕsat pĕdang	i	iv	<i>swiftly he pulled his sword</i>
SĚBRET lumpat	i	iv	<i>and he ran like mad</i>
SĚD ngeser	i	iv	<i>and he moved aside</i>
SĚDUT hitut	i	iv v	<i>and he broke wind</i>
SĚG dipikiran	i	iv	<i>and he started thinking about it</i>
SĚGRUK ceurik	i	iv	<i>and she sobbed away</i>
SĚK sare	i	iv	<i>and he fell asleep</i>
SĚK paeh			<i>and he dropped dead</i>
SĚLĚWĚG diteuruy	i	iv v	<i>and he gobbled it down</i>
SĚMPRING digunting	i	iv v	<i>and snip, he cut it off with the scissors</i>
SĚMPRUNG pĕgat	i	iv v	<i>and it broke with a twang</i>
SEOT mudun	i	iv	<i>and it went downhill</i>
SĚP disĕlapkeun	i	iv v	<i>and he shoved it in</i>
SĚP disĕsĕpkeun			<i>and he shoved it in</i>
SĚR ngeser	i	iv	<i>and he moved aside</i>
SĚR ngisĕr	i	iv	<i>and he moved aside</i>
SĚR panas hate			<i>and he got annoyed</i>
SĚR nyongkab			<i>and anger welled up</i>
SERELEK dibuka	i	iv v	<i>and he opened the curtain</i>
SEREPET mĕsat gobang	i	iv v	<i>and he unsheathed his sword</i>
SEUG dipikiran	i	iv	<i>start thinking about</i>
SĚWUR diawurkeun	i	iv	<i>and he spread it out</i>
SIĚT nyambĕr	i	iv v	<i>the hawk swooped down and seized</i>
SIĚT nonjok			<i>he swung punching him</i>
SIĚT nĕwĕk			<i>he swung and stabbed</i>
SIRIWIK nyabĕt	i	iv	<i>rushing over, he took a swing at it</i>
SOK ditunda	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he put it down</i>
SOL nyengsol	i	iv	<i>and there it stood askew</i>
SOLONGKRONG munjungan	i	iv	<i>with humility he paid homage</i>
SOLOYONG mĕaju	i	iv	<i>and it swung into motion</i>
SOR nyodo ^r keun	i ii iii	iv	<i>stretching his hands, he passed it</i>
SOT dilesotkeun	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he let it go</i>
SŘĚK paantĕl	i ii	iv	<i>and they are touching</i>

SROG maju	i	iv	<i>and it moved forward</i>
SUP asup	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he got in</i>
SUR asurkeun	i	iv	<i>and she shoved it in</i>
SURUDUT diuyup	i	iv v	<i>and he gulped it down</i>
SURUPUT diuyup	i	iv v	<i>(as above)</i>
SUT diseungeut	i	iv	<i>and he set it alight</i>
SUT disundut			<i>and he set fire to</i>
TĚG nyěntog	i	iv	<i>with a jerk, it came to a halt</i>
TĚG nyangka pigorengeun			<i>and he grew suspicious</i>
TĚL antěl	i	iv	<i>and he touched ...</i>
TĚĽĚJĚG leumpang	i	iv	<i>and he got up and walked</i>
TĚNG lumpat	i	iv	<i>and there he ran</i>
TEP panas	i	iv	<i>and it got hot</i>
TĚR ngagětěr	i	iv	<i>overcome by fear, he started shaking</i>
TEREKEL naek	i	iv	<i>and he clambered up a tree</i>
TĚRĚĽĚNG lumpat	i	iv	<i>and there he ran</i>
TĚRĚNGTĚNG lumpat	i	iv	<i>tearing away, he ran</i>
TĚS pitěs	i	iv v	<i>and it broke off (of twigs)</i>
TIRILIK ngiclik	i	iv	<i>and there the child followed with short swift steps</i>
TOK dikětok	i	iv v	<i>rapping it, he gave a knock</i>
TOP nyokot	i ii iii	iv	<i>and he proceeded to pick it up; laying his hands on it, he picked it up</i>
TOROJOL datang	i	iv	<i>and he came in suddenly</i>
TRET nulis	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and away he wrote</i>
TUG ratug	i	iv v	<i>with heart pumping</i>
TUT dicokot	i	iv	<i>and he took it without a word; taking it, he carried it away</i>
WAK meulah	i	iv v	<i>and he split the wood in two</i>
WEK soek	i	iv v	<i>and it's torn</i>
WĚL dihuapkeun	i	iv v	<i>and she stuffed it in; and he guzzled it down</i>
WER kiih	i ii iii	iv v	<i>and she relieved herself</i>
WUR diawurkeun	i	iv v	<i>and he spread it around</i>

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DEMPWOLFF'S DESCRIPTION OF VERB SERIALISATION IN YABEM

Joel Bradshaw

INTRODUCTION

Otto Dempwolff is far better known for his historical and comparative work than for his descriptive and theoretical contributions. However, the work to which he devoted his last efforts before he died (on 27 November 1938) was a grammatical description of Yabem, an Austronesian (AN) language adopted and spread by the Lutheran mission as a lingua franca in the Morobe area of Papua New Guinea. His *Grammatik der Jabêm-Sprache auf Neuguinea* appeared in 1939. Overshadowed on the one hand by the completion of his *Vergleichende Lautlehre* in 1938, and on the other by the World War, Dempwolff's grammar has received far less recognition than it deserves. The only review of it I have been able to find is a brief notice by Heimo Kremsmayer in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* in 1941.¹ The grammar of Yabem presents a challenge, both to historical/comparative and to descriptive/theoretical linguistics; Dempwolff's description is not just a valuable record but also an impressive achievement.

Yabem is primarily known for its phonemic tone and its verb morpho-phonemics. Its equally interesting syntax has been almost entirely ignored. After brief discussion of the two better-known phenomena, this paper will examine Dempwolff's treatment of one of the most striking aspects of Yabem syntax – verb serialisation.²

This paper is aimed at several audiences. For the consideration of linguists interested in theory and description, it looks at how Dempwolff chose to describe a language that is typologically deviant from an AN as well as a European point of view. For the benefit of linguists interested in comparison to determine typological and historical relationships among languages, it presents a reasonably full range of examples of verb serialisation in Yabem. But perhaps most of all this paper is an appreciation of a much-neglected work by a distinguished predecessor, a work which I have found very useful in my own research. This paper will have served its purpose if it does no more than to entice more linguists to look more closely at Dempwolff's description of Yabem.

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Tone: Yabem is one of the very few AN languages to exhibit tonal distinctions.³ In his foreword to Dempwolff's grammar, Heinrich Zahn (1939:v) claims that Dempwolff was the first to suggest that the many homographs in the data collected by Zahn and the other early missionaries might be due to tone. (Dempwolff had already had considerable experience with African tone — and click — languages.) Dempwolff later (1936) observed correlations between Yabem tones and obstruent voicing in other New Guinea languages and speculated that tone might be more widely distributed in local AN languages. In 1949, Capell suggested that Yabem tone might reflect obstruent voicing contrasts as far back as Proto-AN. However, new evidence from closely related non-tonal languages now seems to indicate that "phonemic tone is a relatively recent and independent innovation of Yabem" and its tonal congeners (Bradshaw 1979a:189).

Oral/nasal alternation: Another feature of Yabem that has caused some comment is the morphophonemic alternation between oral and prenasalised obstruents in verb roots. Here Yabem is in less exclusive company. Similar alternations are found in many AN languages. It has been suggested by Biggs (1965:384-385), Pawley (1972:118,120), and others that oral/nasal alternation served a grammatical function in Proto-Eastern Oceanic — and, by extension, Proto-Oceanic (POC) — but then fossilised in most languages, leaving a large residue of irregular oral/nasal grade correspondences among Oceanic languages. Languages in which such alternations are grammatically productive provided evidence for reconstructing this feature in POC. Yabem was a star witness. However, Lynch (1975) has called this assumption into question and has presented evidence that oral/nasal alternations arose independently in many of these languages as a result of the reduction and assimilation of one or the other of the independently reconstructible verbal prefixes *na or *ma. Again, Yabem yielded prime evidence.⁴ So, it now appears that Yabem oral/nasal alternation, like Yabem tone, is innovative and of relatively recent origin.

DEMPWOLFF'S APPROACH TO GRAMMAR

Yabem syntax is also innovative and, from an AN point of view, as exotic as tone. Perhaps its most interesting feature is the use of finite verbs where other languages employ adverbs, prepositions, or conjunctions. Similar phenomena, under the general label of 'verbal serialisation', are quite common in West Africa and have caused much debate among linguists working within generative frameworks. Dempwolff's rather different approach, in particular his avoidance of structural preconceptions, sidesteps much of that debate without significantly diminishing the quality of his description.

Dempwolff was writing his grammar at the request of New Guinea missionaries. In 1933 he had helped Zahn get started on a practical textbook for teaching Yabem (Zahn 1939:vi). In 1938 he was called on again, this time to produce a 'scientific' grammar that would provide a theoretical synthesis to complement Zahn's textbook. His goal was thus to give educated European readers a coherent and comprehensive picture of the peculiar *Geist* of the Yabem language. Zahn's textbook would handle the mechanical details.

Dempwolff considered Yabem the hardest to describe of all the Melanesian languages he had encountered (Zahn 1939:v). Finding no suitable grammars on which to model his description, he cast aside traditional European grammatical frameworks and adopted a highly individual approach, outlining his theoretical assumptions as he went along. The result is a first-class 'notional' grammar

organised on 'psychological' and functional, rather than structural, principles. His concern to persuade his readers to abandon their traditional preconceptions about grammar may have led him sometimes to overemphasise the differences between the 'psychology' of Yabem and that of European languages. But it also caused him to take great care to make his own assumptions clear and explicit.

An exposition of two of his most basic assumptions prefaces the section of his grammar dealing with the lexical categories (*Wortlehre*) of Yabem.⁵ After listing mismatches between European and Yabem categories, he concludes (p.11):

A presentation of Yabem lexical categories according to traditional frameworks actually prevents one from correctly grasping the psychology of this language and from gaining entry into the to us strange "*Sprachgeist*".

Thus we will attempt here to start with the thought patterns peculiar to Yabem and to make *psychology* the basis of the grammatical description (his emphasis).

(*Eine Darstellung der Wortlehre des Jabêm nach traditionellem Schema verhindert geradezu, die Psychologie dieser Sprache richtig zu erfassen und sich in den uns fremden "Sprachgeist" hineinzufinden.*

Darum wird hier versucht, von der dem Jabêm eigentümlichen Denkweise auszugehen und die Psychologie zur Grundlage der grammatischen Darstellung zu machen.)

Dempwolff thus rejects both traditionalism and structuralism.

SERIALISATION AND LEXICAL CATEGORIES

What is a verb? Dempwolff does not describe verb serialisation all in one place. He integrates different aspects of it into the overall fabric of his description. However, when these various threads are extracted and pulled together, they form a clear pattern. The place to begin is with the nature of the category 'verb'.

Whenever Dempwolff introduces a new formal category of Yabem, he provides a notional framework for it. This notional frame acts as a bridge between the formal representation of that notion in familiar languages and its formal representation in unfamiliar Yabem. Dempwolff maintains a consistent distinction between formal, language-specific categories (*Vorstellungen*) and notional, language-independent categories (*Begriffen*). *Vorstellungen* are formal conceptual categories which find expression in one-to-one correspondence with particular grammatical categories or constructions. *Begriffen* are informal conceptual categories which may find expression in a variety of ways, cross-cutting different grammatical classes and constructions. 'Events' comprise a formal category (*Vorstellungs-Gruppe*) in Yabem which is in one-to-one correspondence with the grammatical category 'verb'. 'Possession', on the other hand, is a notional category (*Begriff*) which underlies several different grammatical constructions.

Dempwolff asserts that all mental impressions (*Sinneseindrücke*) can be divided among three formal categories (*Vorstellungens-Gruppen*): thing, event, and property. In Yabem, as in many other languages, the word classes noun, verb, and adjective are the linguistic expression of these conceptual categories (p.11). Mental impressions that change quickly in time fall into the category of 'events' (*Geschehnisse*), and the denotations of such conceptions

(*Vorstellungen*) form the word class 'verb'. In Yabem the initiator (*Urheber*) of every event is indicated by means of a 'subject prefix'. The presence of a subject prefix and inflection for mode (either realis or irrealis) is obligatory on all Yabem verbs. Yabem verbs thus parallel the 'finite verbs' of European languages (p.12).

So, *membership* in the class 'verb' is determined by formal, language-specific criteria: inflection for subject and mode. But the *label* for the class is notional and cross-linguistic: verbs in Yabem by and large denote the kinds of phenomena that verbs in more familiar languages denote, phenomena which change quickly in time and which, for reasons that may have nothing to do with language, we consider to be 'events'.⁶

Introduction to serialisation: After defining the verb, Dempwolff describes the inflections in more detail. Because of the complex morphophonemics, he finds it useful to arrange the verbs into five conjugational classes — on the basis of morphology rather than psychology, he points out (p.12). But as soon as he discusses the conjugations, he returns immediately to psychology with an introduction to verb serialisation (p.17):

The formal representations of several events, usually only two, can be *united* into a new representation, just as representations are made more precise in German by prefixes in "weichen, ausweichen" ('to give way, to make way for') ...

To do this, full verbs are placed one after the other, e.g. ... *sêbac sêsêp* 'they have capsized, they have gone down = they have sunk' ...

(*Die Vorstellung mehrerer Geschehnisse, meistens nur zweier, können zu einer neuen Vorstellung zusammengefasst werden, ähnlich wie im Deutschen durch Vorsilben Vorstellungen präzisiert werden in "weichen, ausweichen" ...*

Dazu werden volle Verbalformen hintereinander gestellt, z.B. ... sêbac sêsêp sie sind gekentert, sie sind hinabgegangen = sie sind versunken ...)

The initial examples all involve directionals and seem designed to allow his readers to start with easy constructions whose meanings resemble those of prefixed verbs in German and other European languages.⁷

tapi tamêŋ⁸
1+2-ascend 1+2-come
we (incl) climb up here (to my abode)

api awac
1pl-ascend 1pl-go.to.you
we (excl) climb up there (to your abode)

tapi taja
1+2-ascend 1+2-go
we (incl) climb up there (to a place which has no relation either to you or to me)

Case relations: There is an interlude before serialisation is mentioned again. After a few more remarks about the verb, Dempwolff turns to the other formally defined word classes of Yabem: noun and adjective. Then follows a discussion of notionally related phenomena which Dempwolff inserts under the heading 'pronouns'. It deals with such matters as independent and affixed pronouns, the rich demonstrative system, and question words. Serialisation immediately reappears, however, as soon as Dempwolff turns to another set of notionally related phenomena: relations of place, time, quantity, and circumstance (*Angaben über Ort, Zeit, Menge, und Umstand*). As usual, he provides a notional introduction (p.33):

One portion of mental impressions can be notionally grouped together as *indications of place*. Most languages have special word classes for these. In German there are a number of so-called locative adverbs, as "oben, unten" ('above, below') ... and alongside them a group of prepositions, as "über, unter" ('over, under') ... which serve to associate a noun with a locative notion.

Yabem has not yet reached this stage of development. Place is usually indicated by means of verbal or nominal expressions, so that recasting one's thoughts to fit the strange *Sprache* is especially difficult here.

(Ein Teil der Sinneseindrücke wird begrifflich zu Ortsangaben zusammengefasst. Die meisten Sprachen haben dafür besondere Wortarten, im Deutschen sind eine sogenannter Adverbien lokativ, wie "oben, unten" ... und daneben dient ein Teil der Präpositionen, wie "über, unter" ... dazu, um ein Nomen mit einem lokativen Begriff zu verbinden.

Im Jabêm ist eine solche Begriffsentwicklung noch nicht abgeschlossen, es werden meistens verbale oder nominale Ausdrücke für Ortsangaben verwendet, so dass das Umdenken in den fremden Sprache hier besonders schwierig ist.)

In this section, Dempwolff does not primarily concern himself with syntactic serialisation. Instead, he addresses the question of how Yabem renders such notions as location, time, quantity, comparison, instrument, motive, accompaniment and privation. If nominal, prepositional, or affixal — as well as verbal — constructions are used to indicate particular relations, they are all discussed together under the appropriate notional heading.

However, very early in his discussion (p.33) Dempwolff does introduce an important syntactic distinction between same subject (*Subjekts-Gleichheit*) and different subject (*Subjekts-Verschiedenheit*) serial constructions. In same subject constructions, the subject of the earlier verb remains the subject of the later verb. In different subject constructions, the object of the earlier verb becomes the subject of the later verb. This distinction is especially important with locatives, but it appears in other functional categories as well. Examples follow.

Same subject serial constructions:

sêjanda moc sêmoa gwêc
3pl-hunt bird 3pl-stay sea
They hunted birds out at sea.

sêlac sêna gwêc
 3pl-sail 3pl-go sea
They'll sail out to sea.

ôndênj aê ômôênj
 2sg-reach 1sg 2sg-come
Come here to me.

Different subject serial constructions:

tasêwa nop ênêc malaclûnj
 1+2-pour.out betel.lime 3sg-lie village-plaza
We'll pour out the betel lime in the village plaza.

daê waŋ êpi bau
 1+2-pull canoe 3sg-ascend shore
We'll pull the canoe up on the beach.

jasôm biŋ êndênj lau
 1sg-say word 3sg-reach people
I'll say something to the people.

Another important element of Dempwolff's analysis of serialisation is implicit throughout this section. He keeps meaning, function, and grammatical category separate. Often a verb with a particular shape will appear in a variety of different functions and in a variety of different grammatical constructions. Dempwolff cross-references the various appearances of each such verb and clearly considers each function it performs, and each construction it appears in, to derive from the core meaning of the verb. He does not, on structural grounds, set up several different but homophonous verbs. Nor does he, on functional grounds, assign different labels, such as adverb or preposition, to morphological verbs. It is merely an artifact of the notional manner in which he chose to organise his description that he is forced to describe different facets of a single verb in several different places. The following example will illustrate his method.

The verb -wîŋ is first introduced in section 48, "Locatives for persons" (*Ortsangaben für Personen*), of the chapter on lexical categories. Dempwolff gives its basic meaning (*Grundbedeutung*) as 'to be in the presence of someone' (*in Anwesenheit von jmd. sein*), and notes that it can often be rendered by the verb 'to accompany' (*jmd. begleiten*), or simply by the prepositions 'with' (*mit*) or 'by, with, at, among' (*bei*). (He directs the reader's attention to further discussion of its comitative function in another section of the grammar.) In its purely locative function, -wîŋ can be used either by itself in a sentence, or as an adjunct to a verb of rest (verb of position) in a same subject construction (p.35):

jàwîŋ amàc
 1sg-accompany 2pl-COLL
I will be among you.

eŋ gâmoa gêwîŋ lauò
 3sg 3sg-stay 3sg-accompany people-female
He stayed with the women.

Further discussion of -wîŋ is deferred until section 54 "The presence or absence of things in relation to other things" (*Der Begriff der Anwesenheit oder Abwesenheit von Dingen in bezug auf andere*; p.46). Section 54a begins:

Presence is expressed in Yabem chiefly by means of the verb stem -wĩŋ 'to be with something, to accompany s.o.', which thus assumes a comitative function. (Compare 48a, where its locative function with persons is expounded.)

(Die Anwesenheit wird im Jabem zunächst durch den Verbalstamm -wĩŋ (2) "mit etwas sein, jmd. begleiten" ausgedrückt, der also ein komitative Funktion übernimmt. (Vgl. §48a, wo seine lokative Funktion für Personen dargelegt ist.))

Examples of comitative -wĩŋ are:

kasiŋ i gawiŋ teocàc
1sg-catch fish 1sg-accompany older.brother-1sg-COLL
I caught fish with my older brothers.

tinoc geno bôc gêwiŋ mo
mother-1sg 3sg-cook pig 3sg-accompany taro
My mother cooked pig with taro.

sejoŋ buc gêwiŋ
3pl-collect areca.nut 3sg-accompany
They collected areca nuts as well (at the same time).

Dempwolff considers these all to be instances of the same verb performing the same grammatical function (as an adverbial modifier), but in different grammatical constructions. Further discussion of its adverbial role continues in section 72d (p.71) of the chapter on syntax. To that chapter we now turn.

SERIALISATION AND SYNTAX

The domain of syntax: Dempwolff begins his chapter on Yabem syntax with a statement that is remarkable considering the fact that he is describing a serial verb language:

While it was necessary to deviate from traditional European grammatical models to represent the lexical categories of Yabem, the syntax falls easily into the familiar categories. (p.57)

(Während für die Wortlehre des Jabêms eine vom Schema der europäischen Schulgrammatik abweichende Darstellung erforderlich war, lässt sich die Satzlehre an die uns geläufige Einteilung leicht anschliessen.)

He is able to make such a statement because he adopts a functional, rather than structural, approach to syntax. The reasoning behind his approach is carefully laid out and is worth presenting.

Sentences as expressions of psychological propositions can be divided according to content into statements, questions, and commands.

They can be divided according to structure into simple, expanded, and conjoined sentences.

The intellectual basis of every proposition is the partition of a complex content-of-consciousness into a given, to which the speaker links his message, that is, the subject; and the new, to which he draws attention

(or, in the case of questions, the unknown which he wishes to know), that is, the *predicate*. These two discourse constituents, which must occur in every normal sentence, suffice to form *simple sentences*.

The capacity of human consciousness is restricted, to be sure, but it still permits the elaboration of both subject and predicate. From such elaboration arises the *expanded sentence*.

These expansions form new constituents according to the word classes they modify: to the verb belong objects, adverbs, and others; to the noun, appositives, attributives, and so forth.

To the extent that such elaborations do not suffice to accommodate the entire, complex content-of-consciousness, new sentential structures are added, forming a *conjoined sentence*.

In addition to the propositional content of the sentence, there is also the involvement of the speaker's attitude, which can manifest itself especially in the accentuation of individual parts of the sentence. (p.57)

(Sätze als der Ausdruck psychologischer Gedanken-Gliederung haben zum Inhalt Aussagen, Fragen oder Aufforderungen.

Ihrem Umfang nach unterscheidet man einfache, erweiterte und zusammengestellte Sätze.

Die intellektuale Grundlage jeder Gedankengliederung ist die Zerlegung eines komplexen Bewusstseins-Inhaltes in ein Bekanntes, an das der Redende sein Mitteilung anknüpft, das Subjekt, und in das Neue, auf das er aufmerksam machen will (oder bei der Frage in das Unbekannte, das er wissen will), das Prädikat. Diese beide Redeteile, die in keinem normalen Satz fehlen dürfen, genügen, um einfache Sätze zu bilden.

Die Bewusstseins-Breite des Menschens ist zwar beschränkt, aber sie erlaubt doch, sowohl das Subjekt als auch das Prädikat zu erläutern. Durch solche Erläuterungen entsteht der erweiterte Satz.

Diese Erläuterungen bilden neue Redeteile, die sich nach den Wortarten richten, welche durch sie erläutert werden: zum Verbum gehören Objekte, Adverbien u.a., zum Nomen Apposition, Attribut u.dgl.

Sofern solche Erläuterungen nicht genügen, um den ganzen komplexen Bewusstseins-Inhalt unterzubringen, werden neue Satzbildungen angegliedert, so dass ein zusammengestellter Satz aufgebaut wird.

Neben der intellektualen Grundlage der Gedankengliederung ist im Satz der Affekt beteiligt, der sich besonders in der Hervorhebung einzelner Satzteile äussern kann.)

Dempwolff then discusses simple, expanded, and conjoined sentences in turn. Serialisation occurs in all three types.

Simple sentences: Among the sentence types which Dempwolff considers to be simple are those "in which several subjects occur with the same predicate, or several predicates occur with the same subject" (p.66; his emphasis). Into this category fall same subject serial verb constructions, which build a single event-representation out of several [verbs] (*die eine Geschehnisvorstellung aus mehreren aufbauen*; p.67). Dempwolff gives the following examples:

en kêsêlên gêmun
3sg 3sg-travel 3sg-precede
He goes in advance.

âôm ôsô ômôên mè
2sg 2sg-enter 2sg-come or
Are you going to come in?

ôêc ôna
2sg-? 2sg-go
Clear off! (scher dich fort!)

Lasala gêmâc gêc
Lazarus 3sg-sick 3sg-lie
Lazarus lay sick.

napalê kêtan gêngôn ându
boy 3sg-cry 3sg-sit house
The boy sits in the house and cries.

Several verbs with the same subject may also be joined by *mê* or *or* or *ma* and *then*. The conjunction *ma* is only used when one wishes to indicate a temporal succession (*eine zeitliche Folge*; p.67) between two events, as in:

âêâc tana ma talic
1+2 1+2-go and.then 1+2-see
We'll go (there) and see.

Expanded sentences: In treating expanded sentences, Dempwolff, as usual, gives precedence to verbs. Adverbial expansions are discussed before adnominal ones. In normal Yabem word order, adverbials follow the verbs they elaborate upon (p.68). Some of Dempwolff's examples follow:

Locatives:

en kêpê moc kêkô ôndoc
3sg 3sg-shoot bird 3sg-stand where
Where did he shoot birds?

napalêô êngôn êwîŋ asa
child-female 3sg-sit 3sg-accompany who
Who shall the girl sit beside?

Comitatives:

lùcò kêtan gêwîŋ âê
cross.sibling-1sg-female 3sg-cry 3sg-accompany 1sg
My sister cried with me.

tinoc geno bôc gêwîŋ mo
mother-1sg 3sg-cook pig 3sg-accompany taro
My mother cooked pig with taro.

Directionals:

bingsú gëmu gëmên lôm atom
 missionary 3sg-return 3sg-come school not
 The missionary didn't come back to the school.
 ɲaclɛŋ têtulu gën sêndên aêac sêmên
 visitor 3pl-trade thing 3pl-reach 1+2 3pl-come
 The visitors will come over here and do some trading with us.
 lau sê wan ànga salɛŋ kêsa gëmên
 people 3pl-pull canoe from forest 3sg-arise 3sg-come
 The people pulled the canoe (log) up here out of the forest.

Resultatives:

sêpa katapa kêtu poalic
 3pl-hew board 3sg-become crooked
 They cut the boards crooked(ly).
 kom gêjac intêna ɲalênô kêsa
 rain 3sg-hit road slippery 3sg-arise
 The rain made the road slippery.

Motives (with the suffix -ɲa for, of):

bickwan luàgêc sêjanda taun kêtu lanipɲa
 black.cockatoo two 3pl-persecute selves 3sg-become sea.almond-for
 Two black cockatoos are fighting over sea almonds.
 Nipkêtuc gêjac Kekec kêtu papiɲa
 N. 3sg-hit K. 3sg-become paper-for
 Nipketu hit Keke over (because of) the book.

These sentences all contain serialised verbs performing an adverbial function. This function remains constant in spite of the fact that both same subject and different subject constructions are involved. The clash between structure and function is especially strong in the resultative expansions. Strictly (that is, formally) speaking, the resultatives modify the preceding object NF. They elaborate upon the condition of the patient affected by the action. But the resulting condition is inextricably connected to the nature or intensity of the action. So the resultatives also have an adverbial role. Dempwolff compromises on this problem and calls them "substitutes for adverbials" (*Ersatz für Adverbien*; p.73).

Conjoined sentences: Dempwolff's discussion of conjoined sentences begins immediately with a summary of the types of verb serialisation in Yabem. By this time Dempwolff has introduced enough different facets of verb serialisation that he can now offer a fuller picture without overwhelming his readers. He begins (p.81):

The simplest kind of conjoined sentence is the serial sentence without formants [conjunctions]. It resembles the sentence type consisting of several verbal predicates with the same subject...and differs only insofar as now different subjects have also to be considered.

All kinds of messages, that is, statements, questions, and commands, can be conjoined in such constructions⁹ and, from a grammatical point of view, it is often hard

to decide whether several independent sentences or a serial sentence is present.

From a psychological point of view, however, each serial sentence contains a single thought structure.

(Die einfachste Art eines zusammengestellten Satzes ist der Reihensatz ohne Formantien; er schliesst sich an die Konstruktionen von Sätzen mit mehreren verbalen Prädikaten zu gleichem Subjekt ... an und unterscheidet sich davon nur dadurch, dass nunmehr auch verschiedene Subjekte berücksichtigt werden.

Dabei können alle Arten von Mitteilungen, d.h. Aussagen, Fragen und Aufforderungen zusammengestellt werden, und – grammatisch betrachtet – ist es oft schwer zu entscheiden, ob mehrere selbständige Sätze oder ein Reihensatz vorliegt.

Psychologisch betrachtet aber liegt in jedem Reihensatz eine Gedankengliederung vor.)

Dempwolff does not make explicit what criteria he uses to determine that the serial sentence has a semantic unity that distinguishes it from a string of independent sentences. However, he would probably agree with more recent analysts of serialisation who hold that the parts of a serial sentence "all refer to subparts or aspects of a single overall event" (Lord 1973:269).

Dempwolff distinguishes five types of serialisation, not all of them mutually exclusive:

- (1) a type in which the subjects of all the verbs in a construction are the same (the same subject type);
- (2) a type in which the object of an earlier verb becomes the subject of a later one (the switch subject type);
- (3) a type in which the subject of a serialised verb has indefinite reference and the object is a time word (the ambient subject or time expression type);
- (4) a type in which a later verb elaborates upon the event described by an earlier verb (the verbal subject or adverbial type); and, finally,
- (5) a type in which two clauses are simply juxtaposed.

I shall exemplify and discuss each in turn.

(1) *The same subject type:* We have already noted that Dempwolff treats same subject constructions as simple sentences (pp.66-67). He does not further mention them here.

(2) *The switch subject type:* In switch subject serial constructions a word which appears as object in the first clause functions as subject in the second, without being repeated or replaced by a pronoun (p.81).

oto nēm papia èmbacné
2sg-write GEN-2sg paper 3sg-finish.up
Write your letter to the end.

bôc salenŋa seŋ aêàcma jangom gêbacné
pig bush-of 3pl-GEN maize 3sg-finish.up
The forest pigs ate up our maize.

ôkasôp êpi mäsac atom
2sg-spit 3sg-upon floor not
Don't spit on the floor.

tamoanɛn mo ɛwɪn i
 1+2-^{eat.staple}_{&.garnish} taro 3sg-accompany fish
Let's eat taro with fish.

ôkɛn bôc ɛndɛn aê
 2sg-give pig 3sg-reach 1sg
Give me some pork.

bingsú kêkɛn papia wakuc tɛn gɛdɛn aêac
 missionary 3sg-give paper new one 3sg-reach 1pl
The missionary gave us a new book.

Although they may have different subjects, all the verbs in these and other serial constructions agree in inflection for mode. This accounts for the two different shapes of the verbs glossed 3sg-finish-up and 3sg-reach in the examples provided.

(3) *The time expression type*: Somewhat similar to the switch subject type, Dempwolff says, is the use of -(n)dɛn to move toward a target for time expressions (p.82):

Kolenjam gejob bôc gɛdɛn komô
 K. 3sg-caretake pig 3sg-reach rain-season
Kolengjam looked after the pig during the rainy season.
 jamu jamɛn malac ɛndɛn ocsalô
 1sg-return 1sg-come village 3sg-reach forenoon
I'll return to the village before noon.

"Since the subject of this diminutive clause [*dieser kleinen Sätzchen*] has no relation to any word in the main clause [*Hauptsatz*], it is understandable that its position is not fixed, and that it often begins the sentence" (p.82):

gɛdɛn nôgɛn Tami sêlac sêmɛn
 3sg-reach yesterday-ADV T. 3pl-sail 3pl-come
Yesterday the Tami people sailed here.
 ɛndɛn bêbêc kanuc aêac andi sa
 3sg-reach early.morn dark 1pl 1pl-stand up
Before dawn we got up.

Dempwolff neglects to remind his readers here that the words denoting the basic parts of the day in Yabem are themselves verbal (pp.39-43) and function the same way time phrases with -(n)dɛn do. In some cases they may even appear in conjunction with -(n)dɛn.

wan tonan ɛmɛn elɛnɔ
 cance that 3sg-come 3sg-daytime-LOC
The ship will come on the morrow (in the as yet unrealised daylight). (p.41)

gêbêc kom gêjac
 3sg-night rain 3sg-hit
During the night it rained. (p.41)

gɛdɛn gêbêc aêac alic ja gelom ànga Mécgim
 3sg-reach 3sg-night 1pl 1pl-see fire 3sg-blaze from M.
Last night we saw a fire blaze up in Megim. (p.83)

Verbal time expressions always have 3rd person singular subjects but they agree with the other verbs in the serial construction with regard to mode inflection.

(4) *The adverbial type:* Next to be considered are those constructions in which verb forms inflected for 3rd person singular appear to form adverbial expansions (p.82):

ato biŋ ɲajàm êsa
2pl-write word good 3sg-arise
Write well!

ôpa katapa êtu wapi
2sg-hew board 3sg-become thin
Cut the board thin.

Into this category also fall two constructions in which the adverbial VP ends in a postposition. One of these postpositions explicitly marks adverbs. The other is postposed to purposive modifiers, whether those modifiers are nominal or verbal.

kom gêjac ɲanô kêtôm bêcgeŋ gêmoa
rain 3sg-hit true 3sg-match day-ADV 3sg-stay
It rained hard all day. (bêc = day as measurement)

tamoc gêmac êndu kêtôm lau tonangeŋ
father-1sg 3sg-sick dead 3sg-match people those-ADV
My father died just the way those people did.

gajam dange gêdêŋ amàc kêtu gêŋ tonecɲa
1sg-do thanks 3sg-reach 2pl-COLL 3sg-become thing this-for
I have thanked you for this thing.

eŋ kêtu kênac aê kêtu aômɲa
3sg 3sg-ask 1sg 3sg-become 2sg-for
He asked me about you.

One might also wish to transfer to this category those time expressions which follow other verbs in a serial construction. One could then redefine the preceding four types of serialisation according to the nature of the subjects of the various verbs in a serial string.

1. *Same subject:* The subject NP of a non-initial verb is recoverable and is identical to the initial subject NP of the string.
2. *Switch subject:* The subject NP of a non-initial verb is recoverable and is identical to the object NP of an earlier verb in the string.
3. *Ambient subject:* The subject NP of the initial verb (or two) in a string is not uniquely recoverable; the subject prefix is always 3rd singular and apparently indexes the general situation at the time of the event to be described.
4. *Verbal subject:* The subject NP of a non-initial verb in a string is not uniquely recoverable; the subject prefix is always 3rd singular and apparently indexes the earlier VP(s) in the string.

(5) *Simple juxtaposition:* The type which I have put last, Dempwolff actually mentions first. The simplest case of serialisation, he says, is that in which we would insert a linking *and* (*und*) (p.81). He then provides three problematical examples without further elaboration and moves on to the more formally defined types.

Mocsanɲam ləŋgwa gêmac êndu, aêac asùŋ eŋ
Fruitbat old 3sg-die dead 1pl 1pl-bury 3sg
Old Fruitbat died and we buried him.

Tami sêŋi nip masê sêmên, aêàc ajam ôli
 T. 3pl-ship coconut dry 3pl-come 1pl 1pl-make purchase
The Tamis brought (by boat) dry coconuts and we bought them.

gamên namajan kain teŋ, kom oc ênac
 place dark kind one rain likely 3sg-hit
It's unusually dark; it looks like it's going to rain.

Here, more than anywhere else in his discussion of serialisation, Dempwolff fails to be explicit. On strictly formal criteria, these sentences may not be instances of serialisation at all. 'True' serialisation is distinguished by the absence of any clause boundary markers. If the comma in Dempwolff's transcription represents a real intonation break, then that break acts as a boundary marker. However, it may be that Dempwolff's comma marks an ambiguous intonational transition from one perceived clause to the other. In my own data from Numbami, a serialising language closely related to Yabem, I have a comparable case without any intonation boundary:

kole te te imande mayomoni
 man one TOPIC 3sg-die 1pl-bury
One of the men died and we buried him.

(The first *te* is stressed; the second unstressed. Dempwolff's comma may mark the kind of intonational transition that the semicolon in the previous sentence marks.) This kind of serialisation is far from being the simplest.

A more subtle, and perhaps more notional, analysis of serialisation is needed to deal with such cases. One might argue, for instance, that the second clause incorporates a referent from the first clause as its topic. Topic maintenance and topic incorporation (see Keenan and Schieffelin 1976) seem to be cohesive relationships that parallel the same subject and switch subject relationships between serialised verbs. One might also look for identity of case role relationships across the two clauses. It is possible, for instance, to argue that the Patient NP is the same across each respective pair of clauses. (There is no morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Yabem. 'To hit' can be transitive in other circumstances and even here it implies that something – the 'place' (general environment) perhaps – was hit by the rain.)

An even more subtle analysis might enumerate differences in the degree to which the three Yabem examples cohere. In the 'darkness and rain' example, for instance, a full noun appears in subject position in the second clause. The other two second clauses begin with the pronoun *aêàc*, which may be there primarily to distinguish two homophonous subject prefixes: first person plural exclusive and second person plural, both *a-*. The darkness and rain example also differs from the others in juxtaposing a stative and an active clause, the former describing an already realised aspect of the coming event, the latter an as yet unrealised aspect of it. The other examples each juxtapose two realis verbal clauses. This sort of multicriterial approach to serialisation would seem to be a profitable line of future investigation. (I am currently developing such an approach in my own analysis of serialisation in Numbami.)

Verbal subordinating conjunctions: A discussion of Yabem serialisation would not be complete without mention of two subordinators that are morphological verbs. One introduces time clauses; the other introduces a variety of clause types.

The time clause subordinator is the same verb used in serialised time expressions: *-(n)dên* (to move) toward, at. It is always inflected for 3rd person singular but is irrealis if the clause indicates a future time and realis if the clause indicates past time. Two of Dempwolff's (p.89) examples follow:

gêdên bômbôm sêmoa Butawên, nan tinoc kékôc aê
 3sg-at whites 3pl-dwell B. then mother-1sg 3sg-bear 1sg
When the whites were living at Butaweng, I was born.

êndên nac gêmac ten ênêc malac lau têtân tanjiboa
 3sg-at man 3sg-die one 3sg-lie village people 3pl-sing mourning
If there is a dead man in the village, that's when we sing the mourning ritual.

The other subordinator can take the full range of subject prefixes in some constructions, only 3rd singular in others. It only occurs with realis inflection for mode except when it introduces conditional clauses. Dempwolff considers its basic meaning to be 'to think, mean, intend' (p.90), but I have chosen to gloss it 'say' on the basis of parallels in closely related languages (and also for the sake of brevity).¹⁰ In constructions in which the prefix is not immutably 3rd singular, I provide a separate gloss for the prefix. Otherwise I gloss the realis form 'says' and the irrealis 'say'. Examples of its varied uses (from pp. 90-92) follow.

Desideratives (with irrealis, same subject complement):

aôm gobe ôwîn aêac mē
 2sg 2sg-say 2sg-join 1pl or
Do you want to come with us?

Purposives (with irrealis, same subject complement):

aôm gômôên gobe ônsen aêac su mē
 2sg 2sg-come 2sg-say 2sg-destroy 1pl FINISH or
Have you come to destroy us?

àwê ten kêsa gêmên gebe êtê bu
 woman one 3sg-arise 3sg-come 3sg-say 3sg-draw water
A certain woman came up to draw water.

Purposives (with irrealis, switch subject complement):

ôlic, gebe okêm êngun aôm atom
 2sg-see says thorn 3sg-pierce 2sg not
Look out so the thorn doesn't stick you.

kiap kêsakin lau, gebe sêni nê wàba sêna Bukawac
 kiap 3sg-send people says 3pl-ship GEN-3sg cargo 3pl-go B.
The patrol officer sent people to take (by sea) his cargo to Bukawac.

Reason clauses (with realis complement):

kêdorwaga kêsôm aêac gebe aêac angon ɲaŋɛŋ atom
 3sg-teach-doer 3sg-scold 1pl says 1pl 1pl-sit still not
The teacher scolded us for not sitting still.

Quotatives (no restrictions on complement):

aêac tasam Anôtô gebe tamenɪ
 1+2 1+2-call God says father-1+2
We call God our father.

Bucgedo kêsôm gebe ênac ɲapalêò
 B. 3sg-say says 3sg-hit child-female
Bugeão said he would kill the girl.

Conditionals (with irrealis complement):

kom èmbe ênac ma dangôn àndu
 rain say 3sg-hit and.then 1+2-sit house
If it rains, we stay home.

galoc èmbe talac, oc tatap gwêc sec sa
 now say 1+2-sail likely 1+2-find sea bad up
If we sail now, we'll probably run into bad weather.

CONCLUSION

During the period when AN historical and comparative linguists concentrated almost exclusively on phonology, Dempwolff's grammatical description provided a valuable record of a phonologically deviant language. Due to the relative completeness of that record, recent works (Lynch 1975, Bradshaw 1979a) have been able to reconstruct aspects of Yabem's phonological history and relate it to that of other AN languages. Though the phonological history of Yabem is far from being solved, Dempwolff's grammar now provides a new challenge. It presents a rather full account of a syntactically deviant language. How and why did Yabem become such a thoroughgoing serial verb language?

In 1941, Kremsmayer considered the description of Yabem tone to be the most significant contribution of Dempwolff's grammar. Dempwolff himself, however, seems to have been particularly impressed with the special place of verbs and verb serialisation in Yabem. He describes verbs before nouns, adverbial expansions before adnominal ones. He repeatedly mentions serialisation and discusses it first when he turns to strategies for conjoining sentences.

Among the strengths of Dempwolff's analysis are: his extensive data base and rich exemplification; the careful organisation and step-by-step development of his exposition — his awareness of his audience, in other words; his avoidance of traditional grammatical preconceptions and explicit presentation of his own assumptions; his awareness of distinctions among meaning, function, and structure, and between notional and formal criteria, without wishing to exclude any of them.

There are, of course, weak points. His organisation makes for a good deal of repetition and requires extensive cross-referencing. He also shares a failing not uncommon among those describing serialisation. He does not make explicit enough the conditions under which two or more VPs can be serialised, and under

which they may not be serialised. Even with these weaknesses, however, Dempwolff's is one of the best accounts of serialisation I have read, and it is a good starting place for further work on serialisation in the languages of New Guinea and elsewhere. I have suggested a few modifications of his framework and have outlined some areas which might well repay future investigation.

NOTES

1. A more recent announcement (Wilson et al. 1967) of a project to translate a dozen of Dempwolff's works into English makes no mention of the *Grammatik der Jabêm-Sprache*. A translation of this work would be both useful and timely. Yabem tone, verb serialisation, and differential treatment of animate and inanimate, generic and specific nouns would be of interest to an audience wider than that of German-reading Melanesianists. Unfortunately, my knowledge of German is insufficient to the task.
2. This research was supported in part by National Science Foundation grant no. BNS 75-19451 to the University of Hawaii Oceanic Comparative Linguistics Project. I am grateful to Frank Lichtenberk, Pete Lincoln, George Grace, and Stan Starosta for suggesting improvements in both the presentation and the translation from German. I alone am responsible for the deficiencies that remain.
3. The description of Yabem tone is considered by Kremsmayer to be the most important contribution of Dempwolff's grammar. Kremsmayer goes on to suggest that, because drum communication is hard to imagine in other than tone languages (*Trommelsprache ist schwer denkbar ohne Tonsprache*), more tone languages would turn up in the South Pacific where, as in Africa, drum-signalling is widely attested.
4. Lynch cites Zahn (1940) as his source of Yabem data. Zahn and Dempwolff collaborated closely, the former producing a pedagogical grammar, the latter providing the theoretical underpinnings.
5. The *Wortlehre* chapter begins like this (p.11):

The meanings of Yabem root words and word stems belong in the *lexicon*.

The function of the *grammar* is first to analyse the psychology of the words and their formants, and then to synthesise a presentation of that analysis.

We shall here dispense with an account of the toilsome process by which all involved contributed to the analysis of Yabem, and shall aim instead to describe clearly the grammatical synthesis.

In this undertaking, the familiar patterns of European school grammars proved inadequate. To be sure, the word classes noun, verb, and adjective are also found in Yabem. But the noun has no grammatical gender, only partially has number, and, if one can speak of cases at all, they are completely different from what we expect them to be. It is true that Yabem verbs are conjugated, but they have no passive and no tense, instead only peculiar modes. The adjective in Yabem lacks any comparative. The demonstrative pronouns have not so much a locational relation

to the speaker as a very general correlation to first, second, and third person. The word classes adverb, preposition, and conjunction of our languages are only partly reflected in Yabem; their meanings are often rendered in a totally different manner, frequently by verbs.

(Die Bedeutung der Grundwörter und der Wortstämme des Jabêm gehört in das Lexikon.

Aufgabe der Grammatik ist es, die Psychologie der Wörter mit ihren Formantien zunächst analytisch zu erschliessen und dann synthetisch zu ordnen.

Hier wird darauf verzichtet, den mühsamen Weg zu schildern, den die analytische Erschliessung des Jabêm allen Beteiligten bereitet hat; es wird vielmehr erstrebt, die synthetische Ordnung der Grammatik übersichtlich darzustellen.

Dafür hat sich das uns geläufige Schema der europäischen Schulgrammatik als unzulänglich erwiesen. Wohl gibt es die Wortarten Substantiv, Verbum und Adjektiv auch im Jabêm. Aber das Substantiv hat kein grammatisches Genus, hat nur teilweise einen Numerus und, wenn man überhaupt von Kasus sprechen will, deren ganz andere als wir sie voraussetzen. Das Verbum des Jabêm wird zwar konjugiert, aber es kennt kein Passiv und keine Tempora, wohl aber ganz eigenartige Modi. Dem Adjektiv des Jabêm fehlt jede Steigerung. Die Pronomina demonstrativa haben nicht so sehr eine örtliche Beziehung zum Redenden, als vielmehr eine allgemeine Beziehung (Korrelation) zu den drei natürlichen Personen. Die Wortarten Adverb, Präposition, Konjunktion unserer Sprachen lassen sich nur zu einem Teil im Jabêm wiederfinden; ihr Bedeutungsinhalt wird grammatisch oft ganz anders, häufig durch Verbalformen ausgedrückt.)

6. Lyons (1965:210, 234) is particularly helpful in clarifying the important distinction between the extensional definition of a grammatical class in terms of formal criteria and the intensional definition of the core of that class by reference to notional categories. The same article also first drew my attention to Jespersen's (1924:55) distinction between 'formal' and 'notional' approaches to grammar.
7. Dempwolff briefly mentions another type of construction which corresponds even more closely to German and English verb + particle combinations:

Another way in which event representations are altered is by means of special particles, e.g. sa upward, sic downward, ôkwi around. These belong more in the lexicon than in the grammar. (p.17)

(Eine andere Art der Umbildung von Geschehnis-Vorstellungen erfolgt durch besondere Partikeln, z.B. durch sa nach oben, sic nach unten, ôkwi herum. Diese gehören mehr in das Lexikon als in die Grammatik.)

However, they are mentioned again later in the grammar (pp.52-53) when he discusses adverbials:

The label *adverb* is especially merited in Yabem by a number of particles that only occur in combination with verbs, and then behind both the verb and any following object.

They unite the formal representation of the event designated by the verb with another formal representation that verges on being a notional one in a manner similar to the way in which we use in German the particles "her" and "hin", "auf" (=open) and "zu" (=closed).

(Die Bezeichnung Adverbien verdienen im Jabêm ganz besonders eine Anzahl von Partikeln, die nur in Verbindung mit Verben vorkommen, und zwar hinter der Verbalform und auch hinter einem ihr folgenden Objekt.

Sie verknüpfen die Vorstellung des Geschehnisses, das die Verbalform bezeichnet, mit einer anderen Vorstellung, die auf der Grenze zu einem Begriff steht in ähnlicher Weise, wie wir im Deutschen unsere Partikeln "her" und "hin", "auf" (=offen) und "zu" (=geschlossen) gebrauchen.)
(p.52)

A similar class of resultative particles is found in a number of other Morobe area AN languages (Bradshaw 1979:15-18). The following are some of Dempwolff's (1939:53) examples from Yabem:

sêômac lasê
3pl-laugh opened
They broke out in laughter.

kamoalêc gêc gamên àuc
cobweb 3sg-lie place covered
Cobwebs covered up the place.

êsêàc sênam awên tôn
3pl-COLL 3pl-make mouth-3pl fastened
They will remain silent.

kêlîŋ tau sîŋ
3sg-forgot self disconnected/loose
He forgot himself.

sêjac bu tulu kêsêp làclu
3pl-strike water apart 3pl-descend cup
They poured water out into a cup.

ôkac ka ôkwi
2sg-turn tree around
Turn the tree around.

òbo gêngic su
cloth 3sg-rip finished
The cloth is all ripped up.

eŋ gêmac êndu
3sg 3sg-sick/die dead
He died.

8. In Yabem orthography, a circumflex indicates a raised mid vowel, a grave accent indicates an unpredictable low tone, and an acute accent an unpredictable high tone. I have followed the orthography of Dempwolff's examples, even where it is somewhat inconsistent with regard to the predictability of one tone or the other. The segmental phonemes of Yabem are summarised in the following table.

	Labial	Dental	Alveo- palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless obs.	p	t	s	k	c
Voiced obs.	(m)b	(n)d	(n)s	(ŋ)g	
Nasals	m	n		ŋ	
Liquids & glides	w	l	j		
Vowels:					
High			i	u	
Upper-mid			ê	ô	
Lower-mid			e	o	
Low				a	

The realis-irrealis distinction is ignored in morpheme glosses of Yabem verbs. (Dempwolff does not supply morpheme-by-morpheme glosses though he frequently offers literal translations in parentheses.) Generally, however, past tense in the free translation indicates that the verbs in a particular serial verb string are realis; future tense indicates irrealis, as does an imperative.

I have used hyphens to separate English glosses where they correspond to separate Yabem morphemes, and I have linked English glosses with a dot (.) when the glosses translate a single Yabem morpheme.

9. What Dempwolff apparently means by this is that statements, questions, and commands may all be rendered in serial constructions. His grammar provides many such examples. I doubt very much that he means to imply that a single serial construction may contain, for instance, both a statement and a question. If that is what he means, then he fails to provide any examples of such constructions.
10. The use of -ŋgo *to say* in Numbami parallels almost exactly the use of -(m)be in Yabem. The major difference is that Yabem has a separate verb, -sôm *to say, scold*, denoting the action of speaking itself. Numbami -ŋgo covers the range of both Yabem verbs. In Iwal (Davidson and Davidson 1976), another closely related language, -nei *to say* introduces quotes and ginei 3sg-*say* introduces conditional clauses. The Buang languages (Hooley 1970, Lauck 1976) have a probably cognate form (-)bê, whose range of usage parallels that of Yabem -(m)be. The Buang form is sometimes a verb, sometimes an uninflected particle, depending upon the function and/or dialect in which it occurs. For parallels in many unrelated languages, see Lord 1976.

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JAVANESE INDICATIVE AND IMPERATIVE PASSIVES

Ramelan

0. INTRODUCTION

It is a remarkable fact that there are numerous characteristics common to the rules of all the world's languages called linguistic universals, which include passivisation. This is indicated by a special verb form: in English by the discontinuous morpheme /be ...-en/, in Javanese by passive prefixes added to the verb stem.

Javanese passive verb forms distinguish subtle differences of meaning. In the indicative mood the passive prefix expresses the agent of the action /taʔ-/ 'first person', /kəʔ-/ 'second person', and /di-/ third person'; so /taʔtules/ *written by me*, /kəʔtules/ *written by you*, /ditules/ *written by him or her*.

Additional meanings may be added by using such suffixes as /-i/ or /-(ʔ)ake/ to express frequentative and benefactive meanings respectively. So, /taʔtulisi/ means *written many times by me*, and /taʔtulesake/ *written by me for someone*.

In the imperative mood, passive is marked by the suffix /ən/, so /tulisen/ *be written*. Frequentative and benefactive meanings are expressed by the suffix /-ɔnɔ/ and /-nɔ/ respectively: /tulisɔnɔ/ *be written many times*, /tulesnɔ/ *be written for another person*.

When the suffix /-i/ or /-(ʔ)ake/ is added to an intransitive verb such as /lungoh/, the meaning is respectively 'directive' and 'causative', and so the verb becomes transitive and can be passivised: /lungoh/ *to sit* (intransitive), but /ɣlunguhi/ *to sit on* (transitive), /dilunguhi/ *be sat on*, /ɣlungohake/ *to make someone sit*, /dilungohake/ *be made to sit*.

The passive prefix /kə/ indicates accidental action, so /kətules/ means *be written by accident*.

In literary style, the passive prefix /ka-/ or the passive infix /-in-/ may be used instead of the ordinary passive prefix /di-/ with similar meaning, so /katules/ = /tinules/ = /ditules/ *be written*.

Passive reciprocity is expressed in written language by reduplicating the verb stem and inserting the infix /-in-/ into the second verb: /tabəʔ-tinabəʔ/ *be reciprocally slapped*. However, the active form i.e. /tabəʔ-tabəʔan/ *to slap each other* is more common in conversation.

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1. THE JAVANESE LANGUAGE

Javanese is spoken in Central Java and the greater part of East Java by about 45 million people. It is also spoken by Javanese families who live in the other parts of Indonesia, such as Jakarta and the new resettlement areas on the outer islands.

Indonesian is the official national language used in the administration and as a medium of instruction at school throughout the country, including Central and East Java, where Javanese is spoken as a native tongue. In these areas Javanese as a local language may be used as the medium of instruction in the kindergarten and the three lowest grades of the elementary school. From the fourth grade on, Indonesian is used as the medium of instruction, whereas Javanese is taught only as an ordinary subject twice a week in the higher classes of the elementary school and the Junior High School. In the Senior High School the language is not taught at all. Its status in the curriculum is thus superseded by Indonesian, and even by English in the High School since this foreign language is taught four to five times a week. This accounts for the deteriorating mastery by students of some aspects of the language, namely the Javanese writing system and the higher levels of speech of the language.

As the language is not intensively taught at school, the present generation of Javanese-speaking people do not read and write the Javanese characters any more. The language is taught by using the Roman alphabet for the convenience of the students. There are no publications printed in Javanese characters available for sale so that in the near foreseeable future Javanese people will become alienated from certain speech levels of the language, and their writing system.

Javanese consists of at least three levels of speech, the so-called Ngoko level of speech used to talk to one's equal, the Krama level of speech used with strangers or people the speaker wants to respect or to keep at a distance, and the Krama Inggil used with people the speaker highly respects. The three speech levels differ from each other especially in the vocabulary, whereas the order of arranging the morphemes and words is the same. The following is a comparison between the three levels of speech:

(1) Ngoko	: deke arep mangan <i>sega</i> [†]	} <i>he will eat rice</i>
	1 2 3 4	
(2) Krama	: piyambakipun bade neda sekul	
	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
(3) Krama Inggil:	panjenenganipun bade dahar sekul	
	1 2 3 4	

For the daily language of communication among friends the Ngoko is commonly used, and consequently it is this level of speech which is most widely used. On the other hand, the Krama is specially used by the older generation in society. There is reason to believe that with the language situation as it is now, some day the young generation will not speak the Krama any more, just like the Javanese speakers who live in Paramaribo, the former Dutch colony in Latin America.

[†] Examples are written here in Javanese orthography. When later letters are enclosed between slanting lines, they are phonetic symbols.

Like Indonesian or Malay, Javanese is a member of the Austronesian language family. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are many similarities between the two languages in terms of their vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Because of these close similarities, Javanese-speaking people in general have no difficulty learning Indonesian. But those who have not attended school, especially in the country, do not understand Indonesian, and speak only Javanese for daily communication.

The similarities in grammar can be seen especially in the word order of the basic sentence structures. A sentence usually consists of two parts: a subject and a predicate. A noun or noun phrase commonly functions as subject, while for predicate we can have a noun (phrase), adjective (phrase), prepositional phrase, numeral (phrase), verb (phrase). The following are examples of Javanese and Indonesian sentences with English translation:

- (4) Sidin kancaku : Sidin teman saya *Sidin is my friend.*
 (5) Sidin lara : Sidin sakit *Sidin is ill.*
 (6) Sidin nang omah : Sidin di rumah *Sidin is at home.*
 (7a) Sidin lungguh : Sidin duduk *Sidin sits.*
 (7b) Sidin mbedil asu : Sidin menembak anjing *Sidin shoots a dog.*

When a verb in the predicate is transitive as in (7b) above the sentence can be passivised – as in English – by permuting the object and subject, passivising the verb form, and adding the preposition *dening* or *by* before the permuted noun to indicate the agent, though it is mostly deleted in conversation. In English, however, the preposition *by* indicating the doer of the action is obligatory and can never be left out. Again, Javanese and Indonesian show great similarities in passivisation, besides differences which are found in written style.

At a glance Javanese and English look similar in passivising a sentence as can be seen from the passivisation rule above and the following illustration:

- (8) A₁su dibedil₂ (dening₃) Sidin : A₁ dog is₂ shot by₃ Sidin

However, Javanese passivisation expresses more subtle differences in meaning as will be explained below.

2. PASSIVE SENTENCES IN JAVANESE

2.1 Subtle meanings in Javanese passives

It is interesting to note that languages the world over share certain characteristics, which are usually called linguistic universals. For example, each language has what is called 'mood' by grammarians, that is the form assumed by a verb (either by inflection or with the help of auxiliaries) for indicating the mode or manner in which the action or state denoted by the verb is conceived by the mind (Nesfield 1947:57). Sentences which express statements of facts are said to be in the 'indicative mood', sentences to express orders or to ask people to do something in the 'imperative mood', and sentences to express suppositions or unrealities in the 'subjunctive mood'. In addition, each language has certain devices to express negation, to ask questions, or to indicate whether someone performs or undergoes an action, called active or passive sentences. There is probably some truth in what transformational

grammarians say, that languages are basically the same in their deep structures to express various meanings, while the differences are found only in the ways they are manifested in their surface structures.

Active-passive relationship, sometimes called 'voice', seems to be universal since it is found in many languages. The following examples are taken from languages belonging to two different language families, viz. the Indo-European and Austronesian language families.

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(9) English	: He closes the door.	The door is closed (by him).
(10) Dutch	: Hij sluit de deur.	De deur wordt (door hem) gesloten.
(11) Indonesian	: Ia menutup pintu.	Pintu ditutup (olehnya).
(12) Javanese	: Deke nutup lawang.	Lawang ditutup (deke).

In active sentences, the subject of the sentence i.e. the noun or noun-phrase: he in (9), hij in (10), ia in (11), deke in (12) performs the action indicated by the verb, while in passive sentences the subject of the sentence: the door in (9), de deur in (10), pintu in (11), or lawang in (12) undergoes the action. The passive meaning of the verb is signalled by a special form of the verb, in English, for instance, by the discontinuous passive morpheme /be ...-en/ or the auxiliary be and the past participle form of the verb (e.g. be closed), while in Javanese by the passive prefix /di-/ followed by the verb stem (ditutup). Passive sentences are used in English and Javanese, especially when there is no need to specify the performer of the action, and more attention is being paid to the result of the activity. That is why the agentive noun is not usually expressed in a passive sentence as can be seen from the examples cited above. In English and Javanese, active sentences are transformed into passive ones in a similar way as can be seen from sentences (9) and (12) above. The object of the active sentence is made the subject of the passive sentence, so the two nouns are permuted; passivisation of the verb form in English is done by adding the discontinuous passive morpheme /be ...-en/, while in Javanese by adding one of the passive affixes /ta?-/ , /kɔ?-/ , /di-/ , /ka-/ , /-in-/. To indicate the performer of the action, if this is deemed necessary, a function word is placed before the agentive noun: the preposition by in English, and dening in Javanese. Javanese differs from English or any other language of the Indo-European family in that passive verb forms also express other subtle differences of meaning such as the performer of action, frequency of activity, benefaction, accidentality and the mood of the sentence. Consequently, a description of Javanese passive sentences will include the following:

1. the mood of the passive: whether indicative or imperative
2. the agent of the action: whether the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person
3. other meanings which can be labelled as frequentative, benefactive, accidentality, and reciprocity
4. the way of transitivising intransitive verbs to enable them to take an object, thus allowing passivisation.

2.2 Passive in the indicative mood

2.2.1 Passive prefixes indicating agents

Javanese passives are, in general, distinguished into indicative and imperative passives; in the former there is a distinction on the basis of the agent of the action, i.e. 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person. In the imperative mood there is of course, no passive verb form with 1st or 3rd person as agent, since a sentence in this mood is always addressed to the 2nd person, which automatically functions as the subject of the sentence.

A sentence in the indicative mood expresses a statement about facts. Naturally not all sentences in the indicative mood can be passivised. Only those which meet certain requirements, i.e. those containing transitive verbs and taking an object, can be changed into passive sentences. The following, though representing the basic sentences in Javanese, cannot be changed into passive as they do not meet the requirements.

(13) Deke guru
he a teacher

(14) Deke sregep
he diligent

(15) Deke nang omah
he at home

(16) Bukune lima
his books five

(17) Deke lunga
he goes

The following sentences, however, can be changed into passive, since the verb takes an object, thus it is transitive:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(18) Aku mbedil manuk I shoot a bird	Manuk takbedil a bird is shot by me
(19) Kowe mbedil manuk you shoot a bird	Manuk kokbedil a bird is shot by you
(20) Deke mbedil manuk he/she shoots a bird	Manuk dibedil a bird is shot by him/her

In the transformed sentence, the object of the active becomes the subject of the passive sentence. The passive verb form consists of a passive prefix and a verb stem. What passive prefix is used depends on the subject of the active sentence.

The passive prefix for

/aku/ I is /taʔ-/ or /daʔ-/, the former being more colloquial

/kowe/ you is /koʔ-/

/Deʔe/ he, she is /di-/ or /ka-/, the latter only used in literary style.

Passivising an active verb is done by isolating the verb stem, i.e. by taking away the nasal prefix,[†] thus /mbəDel/ *to shoot* becomes /bəDel/, and then the passive prefix is added to it, resulting in the construction /taʔbəDel/, /koʔbəDel/, and /dibəDel/. This is the reason why mention is always made of the agent or doer of the action, although in passive sentences, attention is paid more to the undergoer and the action itself. This is especially characteristic of Javanese – and also Indonesian – but certainly not of English.

Identifying a verb stem is not always as easy as in the examples above, because sometimes it may undergo a loss of consonant. Basically the nasal prefix /N-/ is assimilated with the first consonant of the verb stem, but when the consonant is voiceless such as /p, t, ʈ, c, s, k/, this consonant is lost. Knowledge of the morphophonemic rules, as illustrated below, is accordingly prerequisite for the proper identification of a verb stem.

The point of articulation of /N-/ is conditioned by the first sound of the verb stem, which can be explained as follows:

1. /N-/ is assimilated with voiced stops

/N-/ + /balan/ → /mbalan/ *to throw*
 /N-/ + /damu/ → /ndamu/ *to blow*
 /N-/ + /DuDoʔ/ → /ŋDuDoʔ/ *to dig*
 /N-/ + /jupoʔ/ → /ñjupoʔ/ *to take*
 /N-/ + /garu/ → /ŋgaru/ *to plough*

2. /N-/ is assimilated with voiceless sounds, which are later lost

/N-/ + /piker/ → /miker/ *to think*
 /N-/ + /tules/ → /nules/ *to write*
 /N-/ + /TuToʔ/ → /nuToʔ/ *to hit*
 /N-/ + /cawan/ → /ñawan/ *to branch off*
 /N-/ + /sawan/ → /ñawan/ *to look at*
 /N-/ + /karan/ → /ŋaran/ *to compose*
 /N-/ + /wedan/ → /medan/ *to have hot drink*

3. /N-/ is represented by /ŋ/ anywhere else (before /r/, /l/, vowels)

/N-/ + /rampok/ → /ŋrampok/ *to rob*
 /N-/ + /linten/ → /ŋlinter/ *to roll up*
 /N-/ + /isi/ → /ŋisi/ *to fill*
 /N-/ + /olah/ → /ŋolah/ *to process*

etc.

On the basis of the above rules, the verb stem can be identified from an active prenasalised verb. Care should be taken, however, in dealing with homophonous forms such as /ñawan/, which may derive from two different verb stems /cawan/ and /sawan/. But such ambiguities can be solved from context e.g.

(21) aku₁ nyawang₂ kowe₃ : I₁ gaze₂ at you₃

(22) dalar-e₁ nyawang₂ : the₂ road₁ branches₃ off

[†]To indicate the activity of the subject – except for certain words – verbs in Javanese generally take a nasal prefix, which can be symbolised by the morphophoneme /N/.

Attention should also be paid to verbs beginning with the velar nasal prefix *ng-* /ŋ-/, because the verb stem may either begin with a voiceless velar stop or a vowel. For instance in seeing a prenasalised verb like /ŋaraŋ/ we wonder whether the stem is /karaŋ/ or /araŋ/. This cannot be decided on unless we know the meaning, which can be checked with an informant, or judged from context:

(23) ₁ deke ₂ ngarang ₃ buku : ₁ he ₂ composes (writes) ₃ a book

The hearer will judge that /ŋaraŋ/ must derive from the verb stem /karaŋ/ *compose*, since /araŋ/ meaning *scarce* is out of place here.

After getting familiar with the morphophonemic rules above, it will not be difficult to passivise active verbs with nasal prefix, i.e. identify the verb stem by taking away the nasal prefix /N-/, and then add any of the passive prefixes /taʔ-, kɔʔ-, di-/, whichever is appropriate. In written style the passive prefix /di-/ may sometimes be replaced by the passive prefix /ka-/ or the passive infix /-in-/. So these forms have the same meaning /ditules/ = /katules/ = /tinules/ *to be written*, with the difference that the first is colloquial, while the last two forms are literary.

2.2.2 Passives with frequentative and benefactive meanings

The passive verb forms explained above such as /diʔisi/ *to be filled* or /taʔtules/ *to be written by me* may be called 'simple passive', because the verb form consists of only a passive prefix and a verb stem. Sometimes, however, additional meanings may be added by using the suffixes:

(1) /-i/, which alternates with /-ni/ after vowels, and expresses the meaning of 'high frequency', thus called 'frequentative', e.g.

/diʔiseni/ *to be filled many times*
/taʔtulisi/ *to be written by me many times*

(2) /-ake/ which alternates with /-ʔake/ after vowels and expresses the meaning of benefaction for/by other people, thus called 'benefactive', e.g.

/diʔiseʔake/ *to be filled for/by someone*
/taʔtulesake/ *to be written by me for someone*

The verb stems to which the frequentative and benefactive suffixes are attached undergo the following morphophonemic changes:

(1) when the verb stem ends in a close or half-close, and half-open vowel: /i, e/, /u, o/, /ɔ/, it is lowered to /ɛ/, /ɔ/, and /a/ respectively, e.g.

/diʔisi/	+ /-i/	→ /diʔiseni/	<i>to be filled many times</i>
/diʔisi/	+ /-ʔke/	→ /diʔiseʔke/	<i>to be filled for someone</i>
/dibaDe/	+ /-i/	→ /dibaDeniʔ/	<i>to be guessed many times</i>
/dibaDe/	+ /-ʔke/	→ /dibaDeʔke/	<i>to be guessed for someone</i>
/dituku/	+ /-i/	→ /ditukoni/	<i>to be bought many times</i>
/dituku/	+ /-ʔke/	→ /ditukoʔke/	<i>to be bought for someone</i>
/diparo/	+ /-i/	→ /diparɔni/	<i>to be halved many times</i>
/diparo/	+ /-ʔke/	→ /diparoʔke/	<i>to be halved for someone</i>
/dipersɔ/	+ /-i/	→ /dipersani/	<i>to be looked at many times</i>
/dipersɔ/	+ /-ʔke/	→ /dipersaʔke/	<i>to be looked for by someone</i>

(2) when the verb stem contains the vowel /ɔ/ in both the penultimate and ultimate syllables provided that the latter is an open syllable, both vowels are replaced by /a/ before the frequentative or benefactive suffix:

/dikɔɔ/ + /-i/ → /dikalani/ *to be often looped*
 /dikɔɔ/ + /-ʔke/ → /dikalaʔake/ *to be looped for/by someone*

If the last syllable is closed /TɔTɔʔ/ *hit on the head*, there is no morpho-phonemic change.

(3) when the verb ends in a closed syllable with a half-close vowel /e, o/, the vowel is raised to /i, u/ before the frequentative suffix /-i/ only:

/diʔires/ + /-i/ → /diʔirisi/ *to be cut many times*
 /dikəroʔ/ + /-i/ → /dikəruʔi/ *to be dredged many times*

but:

/diʔires/ + /-ke/ → /diʔireske/ *to be cut for/by someone*

When the verb ends in /h/ e.g. /sugoh/ *offer food/drink to a guest* the consonant /h/ is dropped

/disugoh/ + /i/ → /disugui/

(4) Otherwise, the normal form as found in isolation is used, e.g.

/dipeneʔ/ + /-i/ → /dipeneʔi/ *to be climbed many times*
 /dikaraŋ/ + /-ke/ → /dikaraŋke/ *to be composed for/by someone*

In order to indicate much higher frequency in the action the verb stem is reduplicated: /ditules/ *be written*, but /ditules-tules/ or sometimes /ditules-tulisi/ *be continuously written*. When a feeling of 'dislike' is implied, the verb stem is reduplicated and there is vowel change in the first verb stem i.e. the vowel in the ultimate syllable of the first verb stem is changed into /a/, while the vowel in the penultimate syllable, if any, is raised to /o/ when it is an open vowel /a/ or a half-open back vowel /ɔ/; but the second verb stem is unchanged e.g.

/ditules/ → /ditulas-tules/ *be written continuously*
 /diʔires/ → /diʔiras-ʔires/ *be cut continuously*
 /dicet/ → /dicat-cet/ *be painted continuously*
 /diwɔɔ/ → /diwoca-wɔɔ/ *be read continuously*
 /diʔambu/ → /diʔomba-ʔambu/ *be smelled continuously*

The verb stem used with the 1st person passive prefix /taʔ-/ is an important passive marker. When the nasal active prefix /N-/ is added to the verb stem, for instance /taʔ-/ + /N-/ + /tules/ → /taʔnules/, the meaning is, of course, active indicating 'determination' or 'volition'. Consider the following:

(24) /taʔtules/
is written by me

(25) /taʔnules/
I'm going to write

There is another passive verb form consisting of the 1st person passive prefix /taʔ-/ and the suffix /-e/, indicating the meaning of 'determination':

/taʔjupuʔe buku iku/ }
 or
 /buku iku taʔjupuʔe/ } *I am determined to take that book*

The three passive verb forms are as follows:

- (a) simple passive /-e/ :/taʔjupuʔe/
- (b) benefactive passive /-ne/ :/taʔjupoʔne/
- (c) frequentative passive /-an/+e/ :/taʔjupuʔane/

When the verb ends in a vowel (open syllable) another suffix /-an/ is added before the suffix /e/ for (c) above

/daʔ + tɔmpɔ + an + an + e/ → /daʔtampanane/ *I am determined to receive it oftentimes.*

Not all verbs in Javanese take the nasal prefix /N-/ to indicate active voice. There are verbs which maintain their stem or base forms in their active voice such as:

/wəroh/	<i>see</i>	/kruŋu/	<i>hear</i>
/tuku/	<i>buy</i>	/jajan/	<i>buy refreshments</i>
/sənəŋ/	<i>like</i>	/lali/	<i>forget</i>
/səŋet/	<i>hate</i>	/entoʔ/	<i>get</i>

The following is an example for such a verb used in a sentence:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(26) /aku tuku buku/ <i>I buy book</i>	/buku taʔtuku/ <i>book is bought by me</i>

With verbs of perception or emotion, the active form is more common, while the passive form is seldom used. Thus the passive counterparts of the following active sentences are anomalous and never used:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(27) /Dɛʔe wəroh sapi/ <i>he sees cow</i>	*/sapi diwəroh/ <i>cow is seen by him</i>
(28) /ʔaku kruŋu kabar/ <i>I hear news</i>	*/kabar taʔkruŋu/ <i>news is heard by me</i>

Instead, the passive of an emotive verb is formed by adding the suffix /-i/, which is normally used with intransitive verbs to make them transitive such as in /lungoh/ *to sit*, but /dilunguhi/ *to be sat on*, so:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(29) /aku sənəŋ kacang/ <i>I like peanuts</i>	/kacang taʔsənəŋi/ <i>peanuts are liked by me</i>

When the object has the semantic feature /+human/, the preposition /karo/ *with* is used before it in the active, or the active prefix /N-/ is used together with the suffix /-i/ mentioned above

(30) /aku sənəŋ karo Siti/	- no passive
<i>I like with Siti</i>	
(31) /aku nənəŋi Siti/	- /Siti taʔsənəŋi/
<i>I like Siti</i>	<i>Siti is liked by me</i>

It is probably for this reason that the suffix /-i/ is said to have a directive function i.e. to cause the meaning of a verb, especially an intransitive verb, to be directed towards an object, in other words, to transitivise intransitive verbs.

2.2.3 Passive with intransitive verbs

Basically an intransitive verb cannot be changed into passive because it does not take any object to be made the subject of the passive sentence. But as has been pointed out in the previous section, an intransitive verb can be made transitive with the help of the suffix */-i/*, called 'directive', or also the suffix */-(?)ake/*, which may be called 'causative' for the reason explained below. These morphemes are homonymous with the frequentative and benefactive suffixes, which are added to transitive verbs presented before.

Consider the uses of the directive and causative suffixes */-i/* and */-(?)ake/* with intransitive verbs as used in active and passive sentences below:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(32) /aku lungoh/ <i>I sit</i>	-
(33) /aku ɲlunguhi kursi/ <i>I sit on chair</i>	/kursi taʔlunguhi/ <i>chair is sat on by me</i>
(34) /kowe ɲlungohke bayi/ <i>you cause to sit baby</i>	/bayi kəʔlungohke/ <i>baby is made to sit by you</i>

Other examples of intransitive verbs which can be thus conjugated are, for instance, as follows:

VERB STEM	VERB STEM
/turu/ <i>sleep, lie</i>	/lungo/ <i>go</i>
/tiba/ <i>fall</i>	/tanes/ <i>weep</i>
/loro/ <i>be ill</i>	/wijeʔ/ <i>wash hands/feet</i>

NOTE: There are exceptions to the morphophonemic rules of the active prefix */N-/* as mentioned in (2.2.1) above, since the allomorph */m/* is also found before vowels in the active voice. But with directive and causative suffixes */-i/*, */-(?)ake/*, the form */ŋ/* is used. Consider the following examples:

VERB STEM	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
/ʔungah/	/mungah/ <i>go up (intr)</i>	-
	/ɲungahi/ <i>climb (trans)</i>	-/diʔungahi/
	/ɲungahke/ <i>cause to rise (trans)</i>	-/diʔungahke/

The same rules apply to the following:

/ʔuDon/ <i>go down</i>	/ʔeren/ <i>be in slanting position</i>
/ʔambu/ <i>smell</i>	/ʔelen/ <i>be conscious</i>

2.2.4 Accidental passives

When someone or something undergoes an action by accident, that is the performer does not do the action on purpose, Javanese makes use of the so-called 'accidental passive', which is signalled by the accidental passive prefix */kə-/*. The agent implied is always the third person, as can be seen from the following examples:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(35) /wɔŋ mbəDel manoʔ/ <i>someone shoots bird</i>	/manoʔ dibəDel/ <i>bird is shot</i>
(36) /wɔŋ mbəDel manoʔ/ <i>someone shoots bird</i>	/manoʔ kabəDel/ <i>bird is shot by accident</i>

The accidental passive prefix /kə-/ undergoes a loss of the vowel /ə-/ when added to verb stems beginning with a vowel:

/kə + ires/ → /kires/; kə + antəm/ → kantəm
/kə + untal/ → /kuntal/ *be accidentally swallowed*

It has been pointed out earlier that in literary Javanese the passive prefix /di-/ may be replaced by the passive prefix /ka-/ without altering the meaning, so /dibəDel/ *to be shot* has the same meaning as the passive form /kabəDel/ *to be shot*. But if the prefix /kə-/ is used instead of /ka-/ as in /kəbəDel/, the meaning of accidentality is expressed i.e. the action is done by accident. The prefix /ka-/ is limited to literary usage, whereas /kə-/ i.e. the accidental passive is used both in literary as well as in colloquial language.

When the verb is intransitive and later transitivised by the directive suffix /-i/, the accidental prefix /kə/ must be used with the suffix /-an/ thus /kə...-an/ here may be called a confix, forming a discontinuous morpheme, for example:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(37) /Dɛʔe ɲlunguhi buku/ he sits on book	/bukune kəlunguhan/ the book is sat on accidentally not */kəlunguhi/

2.2.5 Reciprocal passive

Reciprocal action is expressed in Javanese by the reduplication of the verb stem and certain affixes depending on the voice of the verb. The reciprocal passive verb is signalled by reduplicating the verb stem and inserting the infix /-in-/, which alternates with /-iŋ-/ before vowels, into the second verb stem as in the following examples:

/tabɔʔ/	<i>to slap</i>	/tabɔʔ-tinabɔʔ/	<i>be reciprocally slapped</i>
/ʔantəm/	<i>punch</i>	/ʔantəm-ʔiŋantəm/	<i>be reciprocally punched</i>
/balaŋ/	<i>throw</i>	/balaŋ-binalaŋ/	<i>be reciprocally thrown</i>

The reciprocal passive verb form is especially used in written form, while the reciprocal active verb form is used in both spoken and written language. The active reciprocity is signalled by reduplicating the verb stem and adding the suffix /-an/ to the last verb stem. The reciprocal passive examples above can be changed into reciprocal active verb forms as follows:

/tabɔʔ-tabɔʔan/	<i>to slap each other</i>
/ʔantəm-ʔantəman/	<i>to punch each other</i>
/balaŋ-balaŋan/	<i>to throw (something) at each other</i>

2.3 Passive in the imperative mood

2.3.1 Active vs passive sentences in indicative and imperative

Although passivity is universally found in most languages in which the grammatical subject undergoes the action as expressed by the verb, imperative passive is uniquely found in Javanese. The imperative passive form might be found in English, but it is probably not commonly used in speech. A form like *be hanged* is also a 'passive imperative', but it is hardly ever used in everyday speech (unless as an expletive!).

In Javanese, however, passive imperative verb forms are normally used in everyday speech. Before examining the formal features of imperative passive verb forms, let us compare sentences in the indicative mood and imperative mood to see how they differ from each other in their forms. As we know, indicative sentences are statements about facts, while imperative sentences express orders or requests. If the indicative passive is marked by the passive prefixes /daʔ-, taʔ-, kɔʔ-, di-, ka-, kə-/ + verb stem, the imperative passive, on the other hand, is signalled by a verb stem + any of the imperative passive suffixes /-ən, -nɔ, -ɔnɔ/. The following is a comparison between indicative active (IND A) and imperative active (IMP A).

(38) IND A: /kowe njupoʔ buku/
 you take book

(39) IMP A: /(kowe) njupuʔɔ buku/
 (you) take book!

An imperative active verb in Javanese is signalled by the suffix /-ɔ/, together with the activating nasal prefix /N-/ when required. Like in any other language, including English, the 2nd person subject is deleted or understood. Brusque commands are expressed by using the verb stem only e.g. /jupoʔ/, but it sounds too commanding or peremptory.

A distinction is also made between the indicative passive (IND P) verb form and an imperative passive (IMP P) verb form as indicated by the following comparison:

(40) IND P: /buku iku kɔʔjupoʔ/
 book that is taken by you

(41) IMP P: /buku iku jupuʔən/
 book that be taken (by you)

Since the order of subject and predicate in Javanese is rather flexible, it is also possible to say:

(42) /jupuʔən buku iku/
 be taken book that

2.3.2 Markers of imperative simple passive

An indicative passive verb form is marked, as explained earlier, by any of the passive prefixes + verb stem:

IND PASSIVE PREFIX			VERB STEM	MEANING
daʔ- or	taʔ- kɔʔ- di- ka- kə-		jupoʔ	<i>take</i>
			tules	<i>write</i>
			bukaʔ	<i>open</i>
			cɔlɔŋ	<i>steal</i>
			ʔires	<i>cut</i>

On the other hand, the imperative passive verb form is marked by a verb stem + the suffix /-ən/:

VERB STEM	IMPERATIVE PASSIVE SUFFIX	MEANING
jupo? tules buka?	-ən	<i>be taken</i> <i>be written</i> <i>be opened</i>
palu isi toto	-nən	<i>be hammered</i> <i>be filled</i> <i>be arranged</i>

So the imperative passive suffix has two allomorphs:

/-ən/ after verb stems ending in consonants

/-nən/ after verb stems ending in vowels

as can be seen from the above examples.

The verb stems before the imperative passive suffix undergo an internal modification of the last open vowel as follows:

half-close vowel /e, o/ in ultimate closed syllables are changed into close vowels /i, u/ respectively:

/jupo?/ *take* → /jupu? -ən/

/tules/ *write* → /tulis -ən/

half-open back vowel /ɔ/ in penultimate and/or ultimate open syllables is changed into mid open vowel /a/ e.g.

/gowɔ/	<i>bring</i>	→ /gawa/	} -nən
/kɔlɔ/	<i>catch with a loop</i>	→ /kala/	
/pɔrɔ/	<i>divide</i>	→ /para/	
/sudɔ/	<i>reduce</i>	→ /suda/	

Since passivisation has to do with the transformation of an active sentence into a passive one by making the object of the active sentence the subject of the passive counterpart, the implication is that the verb must be of the transitive type. Consequently, intransitive verbs cannot take the imperative passive suffix /-ən/. An intransitive verb like: /luŋɔ/ *to go* cannot be changed into */luŋənən/, but it can take the active imperative suffix /-ɔ/, thus /luŋɔɔ/ *go!* or the imperative causative passive /luŋa?nɔ/ *make someone go*.

2.3.3 Frequentative and benefactive passive in the imperative

It has been stated before that besides the active nasal prefix /N-/ or the passive prefixes /da?-, ta?-, kɔ?-, di-, kə-, ka-/ , which can be added to verb stems, at the same time the frequentative or continuative suffix /-i/ and the benefactive suffix /-(?)ake/ can also be added, for example

ACTIVE VERB	PASSIVE VERB
/mbalan/ <i>to throw</i>	/dibalan/ <i>to be thrown</i>
/mbalan _i / <i>to throw frequently</i>	/dibalan _i / <i>to be frequently thrown</i>
/mbalan _{ke} / <i>to throw for someone</i>	/dibalan _{ke} / <i>to be thrown for someone</i>

The frequentative and benefactive meanings of verbs are also found with imperative active verbs as well as imperative passive verbs as can be seen from the following examples:

IMPERATIVE ACTIVE	IMPERATIVE PASSIVE
(43) /(<i>kowe</i>) njupu ^ʔ ɔ̃ paku iku/ (<i>you</i>) take nail that	(a) /paku iku jupu ^ʔ ən/ nail that be taken
	(b) /jupu ^ʔ ən paku iku/ be taken nail that
(44) /(<i>kowe</i>) njupu ^ʔ ɔ̃ paku iku/ (<i>you</i>) take (for someone) nail that	(a) /paku iku jupu ^ʔ ɔ̃/ nail that be taken (for someone)
	(b) /jupu ^ʔ ɔ̃ paku iku/ be taken (for someone) nail that
(45) /(<i>kowe</i>) njupu ^ʔ ɔ̃ɔ̃ paku iku/ (<i>you</i>) take (many times) nails those	(a) /paku iku jupu ^ʔ ɔ̃ɔ̃/ nail that be taken (many times)
	(b) /jupu ^ʔ ɔ̃ɔ̃ paku iku/ be taken (many times) nail that

So the imperative passive, like the indicative passive, can be divided into three types:

- (1) the simple imperative passive : /jupu^ʔən/
- (2) the benefactive imperative passive : /jupu^ʔɔ̃/
/jupu^ʔɔ̃ɔ̃/
- (3) the frequentative imperative passive : /jupu^ʔɔ̃ɔ̃/

The simple imperative passive suffix morpheme /-ən/ has two allomorphs:

- (1) /-ən/ after verb stems ending in consonants:

/tules + ən/ → /tulis + ən/ *be written*
 /jupo^ʔ + ən/ → /jupo^ʔ + ən/ *be taken*
 /untal + ən/ → /untal + ən/ *be swallowed*

- (2) /-nən/ after verb stems ending in vowels:

/paku + ən/ → /paku + nən/ *be nailed*
 /isi + ən/ → /isi + nən/ *be filled*
 /tɔ̃tɔ̃ + ən/ → /tata + nən/ *be arranged*

The verb stem to which the suffix /-ən/ is added undergoes some morphophonemic changes, especially in the last vowel, in the same way as has been stated in the preceding section. The benefactive imperative passive suffix /-ɔ̃/ alternates with /-ʔɔ̃/, the former being used after verb stems ending in consonants, and the latter being used after verb stems ending in vowels, while the preceding verb stem which ends in a vowel undergoes some morphophonemic changes as can be seen from the following examples:

verb stems ending in consonants do not undergo any changes:

/tules + ɔ̃/ → /tulesɔ̃/ *be written for someone*
 /jupo^ʔ + ɔ̃/ → /jupo^ʔɔ̃/ *be taken for someone*
 /untal + ɔ̃/ → /untalɔ̃/ *be swallowed for someone*

verb stems ending in vowels undergo the following vowel changes:

the close and half-close back vowels /u, o/ are changed into the half-open back vowel /ɔ̃/

/u, o/ → /ɔ̃/ e.g. /paku + ʔɔ̃/ → /pakuʔɔ̃/ *be nailed for someone*
 /paro + ʔɔ̃/ → /paroʔɔ̃/ *be halved for someone*

the close and half-close front vowels /i, e/ are changed into the half-open front vowel /ɛ/

/i, e/ → /ɛ/ e.g. /isi + ʔnɔ/ → /isɛʔnɔ/ *be filled for someone*
 /rene + ʔnɔ/ → /rɛnɛʔnɔ/ *be taken here for someone*

the half-open back vowel /ɔ/ is changed into the central open vowel /a/

/ɔ/ → /a/ e.g. /tɔtɔ + ʔnɔ/ → /tataʔnɔ/ *be arranged for someone*

The frequentative imperative passive suffix /-ɔnɔ/ — like the simple imperative suffix /-ən/ — has two allomorphs:

(1) /-ɔnɔ/ after verb stems ending in consonants: e.g.

/tules + ɔnɔ/ → /tulisɔnɔ/ *be written many times*
 /jupoʔ + ɔnɔ/ → /jupuʔɔnɔ/ *be taken many times*
 /untal + ɔnɔ/ → /untalɔnɔ/ *be swallowed many times*

(2) /-nɔnɔ/ after verb stems ending in vowels: e.g.

/paku + ɔnɔ/ → /pakɔnɔnɔ/ *be nailed many times*
 /isi + ɔnɔ/ → /isɛnɔnɔ/ *be filled many times*
 /tɔtɔ + ɔnɔ/ → /tatanɔnɔ/ *be arranged many times*

The verb stems undergo morphophonemic alternation with regard to the ultimate and penultimate vowels in closed and open syllables in the same way as explained on page 205:

half-close vowels /e, o/ in ultimate closed syllables become close vowels /i, u/: e.g.

/jupoʔ + ɔnɔ/ → /jupuʔɔnɔ/
 /tules + ɔnɔ/ → /tulisɔnɔ/

half-open vowel /ɔ/ in penultimate and/or ultimate open syllables become /a/ e.g.

/tɔtɔ + ɔnɔ/ → /tatanɔnɔ/

close vowels /i, u/ in ultimate open syllable become half-open vowels /ɛ, ɔ/ respectively. e.g.

/isi + ɔnɔ/ → /isɛnɔnɔ/ *to be filled many times*
 /tuku + ɔnɔ/ → /tukɔnɔnɔ/ *to be bought many times*

3. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be summarised that passivisation is most probably a universal feature found in all languages the world over. Passivisation is usually marked by the conjugation of the verb, to which affixes are added: in English, passivity is marked by the discontinuous morpheme /be ...-en/, consisting of the auxiliary be plus past participle inflection, suffixed to the verb stem. In Javanese, it is signalled by one of the passive prefixes /taʔ-, kɔʔ-, di-, ka-, kə-/ or the infix /-in-/ added to the verb stem.

However, besides the simple passive, Javanese also expresses various meanings such as the doer of action, frequentative or directive meaning, benefactive or causative meaning, accidentality, and reciprocity. As a consequence, those meanings have to be described in the grammar of the language.

Since Javanese is a member of the Austronesian language family, those different meanings might be expressed in the other members of the language

family as well. At least in Indonesian, some of those meanings, though not all of them, are signalled by the use of different prefixes.

This paper is not claimed to be an exhaustive treatment of the Javanese passive since some exceptions may have escaped the attention of the writer. He will therefore, be happy to receive questions and criticisms from the readers for the improvement of the analysis.

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SOME PROBLEMS IN THE THEORY OF GENERATIVE MORPHOLOGY: A CASE IN INDONESIAN VERBAL FORMATION

Soenjono Dardjowidjojo

1. INTRODUCTION

In my paper presented at our last conference (1978c), I pointed out that the approach to the study of morphology as first advocated by Halle (1973) and expanded and revised by Aronoff (1976) encountered serious problems when applied to languages such as Indonesian. At that time I presented the derivation of nouns. The present paper will concentrate on the formation of verbs.

Halle suggests that morphology be viewed as consisting of three distinct components: (1) a list of morphemes (LM), (2) word formation rules (WFRs), and (3) a filter. The LM contains three types of entries, namely, roots, affixes, and what Halle calls 'stems'. These entries are in the form of sequences of phonetic segments with some grammatical information. Thus, for the morpheme write in English we must provide the information that says that it is a verbal root, a member of the 'non-Latinate' group, and that it follows a strong verbal conjugation rule. The affixes include forms such as en-, -tion, and -ity. Within Halle's theoretical framework, the LM must also contain the stems so that forms such as vacant, brother, and believe can be derived by postulating rules of the type /STEM + ant/_A, /STEM + ther/_N, /be + STEM/_V. The stems should be appropriately marked so that a given stem can be substituted only in certain frames and not in others (1973:10). Presumably, there would be a set of indexed stems for forms such as va-, bro-, and be-.

The WFRs specify how the items in the LM are to be arranged to form potential words in the language. Following the phonotactic rules of English, forms such as *blick and *arrivation would be generated by the WFRs, but *mbranyak and *ndlopong would not.

Since words, once accepted in the lexicon, often develop idiosyncrasies, the output of the WFRs must be sorted out so that only actual words will be permitted to pass. Halle postulates three types of idiosyncrasies: (i) semantic, (ii) phonological, and (iii) for want of a better term, I called it 'actual' in my 1978c paper.

Semantic idiosyncrasies are those related to peculiarities in the area of meaning; phonological idiosyncrasies are those in the area of phonology. 'Actual' idiosyncrasies pertain to facts in language in which a form should

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occur but actually does not. Forms such as *arrivation, *refusation, *derival, and *describal are not found in English, although arrival, refusal, derivation, and description are.

The mechanism to prevent the formation of the above forms is the filter. Any form which passes the filter will be stored in what we know as Dictionary. Thus, arrival, refusal, derivation, and description will be stored in the Dictionary, but their starred counterparts above will not.

Although in general Aronoff's work can be considered as an amplification of Halle's, there is one significant difference that must be pointed out here. Unlike Halle's theory which is morphemically based, Aronoff's is word-based, that is, his WFRs cannot operate on anything less than a word, a word here being defined as that without an inflection. In another work Aronoff classifies his definition by saying that the term 'word' in the theory is synonymous with the term 'lexeme' (1979:116). By implication the major difference between Halle's and Aronoff's theories lies in the fact that Aronoff's component in which bases are stored, similar to Halle's LM, does not contain such stems as *va-* and *bro-*. Both, however, agree that the principle of recognisability, and not that of meaningfulness, must be used to define a morpheme. In Aronoff's words a morpheme is "a phonetic string which can be connected to a linguistic entity outside that string" (1976:15).

The argument in my 1978c paper basically covers the following points. First, to consider a phonetic string a morpheme simply on the basis of its recognisability in certain contexts disregards the well-established view, which I believe is still correct, that says that for any communicative form to be considered a language there must exist a relationship between a *signifiant* and a *signifié*. Native speakers recognise the relationship through intuition. No native speakers of English, except some in linguistics, would consider vacant and brother bimorphic. Similarly, no native speakers of Indonesian would consider *haluan* *bow*, *percaya* *to believe* and *semangat* *spirit* bimorphic simply because these words have what appear to be the affixes *-an*, *per-* and *se-* respectively.

My second argument pertains to Aronoff's requirement that the WFRs cannot operate on anything less than a word (1976:22). The data in nominal derivation for Indonesian show that we have bases upon which the WFRs must operate and yet they are less than words: *juang something to do with struggling*, *henti something to do with stopping*, and *anjur something to do with suggesting*.

If a WFR is now permitted to operate on a base which is less than a word, and if we leave out Halle's stems, the LM will only consist of roots and affixes. My third argument is that the roots must be subcategorised into bound and free roots to accommodate bound forms such as *juang* as well as free forms such as *datang* *to come*. Related to this argument is our difficulty in meeting Aronoff's requirement for a base to bear "syntactic subcategories, selectional features, lexically governed entailments, and presuppositions" (1976:48). Bases such as *juang* do not even have a syntactic category and independent meaning let alone syntactic subcategories, selectional features, etc.

My fourth and last argument is that the concept of blocking, that is a mechanism to block the occurrence of form such as *arrivation, does not explain but rather states idiosyncrasies found in language.

In Section 2 I present the formation of verbs in Indonesian to support my earlier arguments and claims. Section 3 is a discussion, and Section 4 a conclusion.

2. THE LANGUAGE¹

2.1 The bases

At the outset we can say that there are two types of roots in Indonesian which are used as bases for forming² verbs: (i) those to which we can assign syntactic categories and independent meanings without having to add an affix. We have called this type the free roots; and (ii) those whose syntactic categories and independent meanings can be identified only after certain affixes have been added. These are the bound roots. Examples for (i) are *marah to be angry*, *darat (a piece of) land*, and *kerja to work*, and for (ii) are *aju*, *alih*, *selenggara*, and *temu*. As far as meanings are concerned the most we can say about (ii) is that these forms have something to do with putting forward, moving, holding, and meeting respectively (henceforth: 'VERB+ing').

On the basis of the types of roots above, we have basically two verb forms: (1) those which can stand alone unaffixed, labelled here as V_1 , and (2) those which can or must take affixation, V_2 . This type is subdivided into three subgroups: V_{2a} , consisting of verbs whose bases are free roots and requiring affixes; V_{2b} , consisting of verbs which can take affixes; and V_{2c} , consisting of verbs whose bases are bound roots and requiring affixes. Examples:

V_1 :	<i>datang to come</i>	<i>duduk to sit</i>
	<i>tiba to arrive</i>	<i>mengerti to understand</i>
	<i>percaya to believe</i>	
V_{2a} :	<i>mendarat to land</i>	<i>menari to dance</i>
	<i>bersepeda to ride a bicycle</i>	<i>bertelor to lay an egg</i>
	<i>melebar to become wide</i>	
V_{2b} :	<i>membaca to read³</i>	<i>membersihkan to clean</i>
	<i>merestui to bless</i>	<i>bekerja to work</i>
	<i>berjalan to walk</i>	
V_{2c} :	<i>mengajukan to put forward</i>	<i>mengalihkan to shift</i>
	<i>menyelenggarakan to hold (parties)</i>	<i>menemui to meet with</i>
	<i>bersua to meet</i>	

Of all the verbs in V_1 *tiba to arrive*, as far as my present research goes, seems to be the only word in the language which can be considered as, to borrow Jackendoff's terminology (1975:648), a singleton, that is a form which belongs to only one syntactic category. The rest of the verbs in V_1 can be used as bases to form other verbs. From *datang* and *duduk*, for instance, we can have *mendatangkan to bring in*, *mendatangi to approach*, *mendatang to come* (poetic), *kedatangan to get visited by*, *berdatangan to come* (plural subject), and *mendudukkan to seat*, and *menduduki to occupy*, respectively.

Since the bases for V_{2a} and V_{2b} are free roots, one might wonder why they are separated. There are three reasons for this. First, the forms in V_{2b} still function as verbs without *meN-* or *beR-*, but those in V_{2a} do not. Thus, sentence (1) is acceptable, but (2) is not.

- (1) *Kapalterbang itu sudah mendarat.*
plane the already land
The plane has landed.

Pak Blo'on suka baca komik.
Mr like read comic
Mr Blo'on likes to read comics.

- (2) **Kapalterbang itu sudah darat.*

Second, in the imperative form the prefix *beR* in *V_{2a}* must be retained. In *V_{2b}* the retention is optional. We can have (3) and (4), but not (5).

- (3) *BErtelorlah sekarang!*
lay egg now
Lay an egg now!
- (4) *BEkerjalah dengan baik!*
work with good
Work well!
- (5) **Telorlah sekarang!*

Third, in informal style the prefix, a portion of the prefix, or a substitute of some sort must be retained in *V_{2a}* but not in *V_{2b}*. We can have (6) but not (7).

- (6a) *Gua MENdarat jam 3.*
I land hour
I landed at 3.
- (6b) *Gua Ndarat jam 3.*
I landed at 3.
- (6c) *Ayam gua udah BERTolar.*
chicken I already lay egg
My chicken has laid an egg.
- (6d) *Ayam gua udah Nelor.*
My chicken has laid an egg.
- (6e) *Gua mau baca koran.*
I want read newspaper
I want to read a newspaper.
- (6f) *Kamu jalan ke sekolah?*
You walk to school
You walk to school?
- (7a) **Gua darat jam 3.*
- (7b) **Ayam gua udah telur.*

Notice the *meN-* in (6a) becomes *n-* in (6b) and *beR-* in (6c) becomes *n-* in (6d) with the following *t-* assimilated. Notice also that *baca* and *jalan* in (6e-f) need no prefixes since they are members of *V_{2b}*.

2.2 Affixes and their combination with bases

There are prefixes and suffixes to form verbs in Indonesian.⁴ The prefixes are *meN-* (with its *di-* passive counterpart), *(mem)per-*, *beR-*, and *teR-*. The suffixes are primarily *-kan* and *-i* but occasionally also *-an*. In addition to these affixes, there is the prefix *ke-* which must occur with *-an* to form verbs.

The prefixes *meN-* *(mem)per-*, and *teR-* can occur with the suffix *-kan* or *-i*, and *beR-* with *-kan* or *-an*. Below are the details of these combinations.

2.2.1 The meN- verbs

If we postulate three hypothetical sets A, B, and C to represent respectively the verbs formed from meN+BASE, meN+BASE+kan, and meN+BASE+i, and these three sets intersect, we have seven subsets:

1. $M_1 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{meN+BASE}\}$.⁵ Examples:

membantu to help	mencaci to swear
memberontak to rebel	menduga to guess
meninjau to visit	

2. $M_2 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{meN+BASE+kan}\}$. Examples:

membicarakan to discuss	membuktikan to prove
membubarkan to abolish	menghidangkan to present
mengajukan to put forward	

3. $M_3 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{meN+BASE+i}\}$. Examples:

mengepalai to head	mengadili to administer justice
mengawasi to supervise	mengingkari to renege
menangani to tackle	

4. $M_4 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{meN+BASE+kan}\}$. Examples:

membeli(kan) to buy (for someone)	menjurus(kan) to direct (X) (to)
menyewa to rent	menyewakan to rent out

5. $M_5 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{meN+BASE+i}\}$. Examples:

mencium(i) to kiss (repeatedly)	menampar(i) to slap (repeatedly)
menyelam to dive	menyelami to penetrate
menghias(i) to decorate	

6. $M_6 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{meN+BASE+}[\text{kan}]_i\}$. Examples:

memarahkan to anger	memarahi to scold
menjatuhkan to drop	menjatuhi to fall on
memberses(kan/i) to put in order	

7. $M_7 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{meN+BASE+}[\text{kan}]_i\}$. Examples:

mengambil to take	mengambilkan to take for someone
mengambili to take (repeatedly)	menyerah to surrender
menyerahkan to entrust (X to Y)	menyerahi to entrust (Y with X)

There are approximately 1425 bases⁶ in Indonesian which belong to the meN-set. Of this total 21% are found in M_1 , 29% in M_2 , 9% in M_3 , 21% in M_4 , 4% in M_5 , 6% in M_6 , and 10% in M_7 . Looking at the percentages above we can see that the suffix -kan (in M_2 and M_4) is almost four times as many as the suffix -i (in M_3 and M_5).

Several characteristics of the verbs in this set I have found so far are:

- (1) Verbs with only the prefix meN- in any of the above subsets can be transitive or intransitive: membeli to buy, menyerah to surrender.
- (2) Except for merupakan to constitute, all verbs with -kan are transitive: menjatuhkan to topple membelikan to buy for someone.⁷
- (3) Except for mencukupi to suffice, memenuhi to fulfill, memadai to be sufficient, and menyerupai to resemble, all verbs with -i are transitive.

- (4) If meN+BASE alone does not occur in the language, the addition of -kan or -i will make the resultant verb monotransitive (one object): *mengerja, mengerjakan *to do*, *merestu, merestui *to bless*.
- (5) If meN+BASE is intransitive, the suffix -kan or -i changes the status to monotransitive: melebar *to become wide*, melebarkan *to widen (X)*, mendekat *to come close*, mendekati *to approach*.
- (6) If meN+BASE is monotransitive, the suffix -kan changes the status to bitransitive (two objects): membeli *to buy*, membelikan *to buy for someone*. In some cases the meaning is unique: menyewa *to rent*, menyewakan *to rent out*.
- (7) If meN+BASE is monotransitive, the suffix -i will retain the monotransitive status: mencium *to kiss*, menciumi *to kiss repeatedly*.

The most common meanings of the suffix -kan are causative and benefactive, the former most often found in (5) and the latter in (6) above. The productivity of the suffix often leads to uncertainty among native speakers. The acceptability of causative forms such as melebarkan *to widen (X)*, and meluaskan *to expand* often makes native speakers wonder if forms such as ?*mencantikkan are acceptable or not. Witness the awkwardness of (8) and the less awkwardness of (9).

- (8) ??Bang Alwi mencantikkan kota Jakarta
Mr Alwi 'beautify' city Jakarta
- (9) ?Kota Jakarta dicantikkan lagi dengan pepohonan di jalan2 besar
city Jakarta 'beautified' further with trees on streets big

In the case of the benefactive -kan, if an activity can be performed only by oneself, the -kan seems improbable: menghibur *to entertain*, menghina *to humiliate*, but *menghiburkan and *menghinakan. On the other hand, if the activity can be done on behalf of someone else, there is a tendency for -kan to be on the acceptable side: ?*menggugatkan *to claim for someone*, ?*menilipunkan *to telephone for someone*, ?*melamarkan *to propose for marriage for someone*.⁸

The most common meanings of the suffix -i are locative and repetitive, the former having no specific locus and the latter most often found in group (7) above. In the event that an action is semantically repeatable, there is a tendency for the -i verb to be acceptable. This is especially true among the speakers whose vernacular has the repetitive -i suffix. Forms such as ?*menyembahi *to worship repeatedly*, ?*menahani *to arrest (Xs)*, ?*menolaki *to refuse (Xs)* are not rejected by many speakers.

Although the membership in M₁₋₇ is mutually exclusive, there are a few verbs which can belong to more than one subset without a semantic difference. The verbs memindah-memindahkan and menghias-menghiasi mean *to move* and *to decorate* respectively.

2.2.2 The (mem)per- verbs

Except for the irregularity of its form, the (mem) here is the same as the meN- we discussed in 2.2.1. I will consider this group as memper- from now on.

Since memper- can occur with -kan and -i, there should theoretically be seven subsets again here. The fact of the matter is that memper- does not seem to occur with $\pm i$ or $\pm \{kan\}$. We have, therefore, only five subsets:

1. $P_1 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{memper} + \text{BASE}\}$. Examples:

memperbanyak *to multiply* memperbudak *to consider (X) a slave*
 mempermudah *to make easier*

2. $P_2 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{memper} + \text{BASE} + \text{kan}\}$. Examples:

memperbincangkan *to discuss* mempermainkan *to make fun of (X)*
 memperbandingkan *to compare*

3. $P_3 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{memper} + \text{BASE} + i\}$. Examples:

memperbarui *to renew* memperbaiki *to improve*
 memperlengkapi *to equip* mempersenjatai *to arm*

4. $P_4 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{memper} + \text{BASE} + \text{kan}\}$. Examples:

memperisteri(kan) *to marry (a woman)*

5. $P_5 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{memper} + \text{BASE} + [\text{kan}]\}$. Examples:

memperingatkan *to remind* memperingati *to commemorate*

There are ninety bases in Indonesian which can take *memper-*. Of this total 48% are found in P_1 , 46% in P_2 , 4% in P_3 , 1% in P_4 , and 1% in P_5 . All the members of P_{3-5} are listed in (3-5) above.

There are approximately forty other bases of which the status is, in my judgement, uncertain. These include forms such as *?*mempertipis*, *?*memperkosong*, *?*mempersedikit*, and *?*memperbinikan*. Since the predominant meaning of *memper-* plus an adjective base is *to make more (Adjective)*, one might wonder why native speakers are not too comfortable with the first two verbs above to produce the meanings *to make more tipis=thin*, *to make more kosong=empty*, respectively. Similarly, we have *memperbanyak* and *memperisteri(kan)*, but we question *?*mempersedikit* and *?*memperbini(kan)* to mean *to reduce* and *to marry (a woman)* respectively.

There are also cases in which the verbs sound natural in the passive but awkward in the active form. Thus, *diperbuat to be done* and *diperumpamakan to be made as an example for* are natural but *?*memperbuat* and *?*memperumpamakan* are at best questionable.

In cases in which the base is verbal, there is a tendency for the *memper-* verbs to be in 'rivalry' with the *meN-kan* verbs. In some cases there is a difference in meaning: *mempermainkan to make fun of (X)*, *memainkan to play*, *mempertaruhkan to bet*, *menaruhkan to place*, *mempertunjukkan to present (a show)*, *menunjukkan to point out*, *memperpanjang to extend (visa, etc.)*, *memanjangkan to lengthen*. In some other cases the pairs are semantically the same: *memperbandingkan-membandingkan to compare*, *memperdagangkan-mendagangkan to deal in (X)*, *memperdebatkan-mendebatkan to debate*.

2.2.3 The *beR-* verbs

The *beR-* set B has only three subsets:

1. $B_1 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR} + \text{BASE}\}$. Examples:

beragama *to have a religion* berduri *to have thrown*
 berkawan *to have friends* berdansa *to dance*
 bersua *to meet* bergegas *to be in a hurry*

2. $B_2 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR} + \text{BASE} + \text{kan}\}$. Examples:

berdasar(kan) *to be based on* berisi(kan) *to contain*
bermandi(kan) *to be bathed in* beratap(kan) *to have a roof made of*

3. $B_3 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR} + \text{BASE} + \text{an}\}$. Examples:

berjatuhan *to fall* (plural subject) bepergian *to travel*
beterbangan *to fly around* (plural subject) berdatangan *to come* (plural subject)
subject)

There are approximately 700 bases belonging to B_1 and the list may be open-ended. So far I have found only eight bases belonging to B_2 and four to B_3 . In addition to the examples given in 2 for B_2 , we have *beralas(kan) to have a padding made of*, *beristeri(kan) to have a wife from*, *berlandas(kan) to have a foundation made of*, and *berlapis(kan) to be coated with*.

There is also tendency to replace the forms in B_2 , especially if the base is nominal, with a totally different construction. Instead of saying (10), people often say (11).

- (10) Pak Gombloh beristerikan orang Minang.
Mr married to person Minang
Mr Gombloh is married to a Minang woman.

- (11) Pak Gombloh isterinya orang Minang.
Mr wife his person Minang

With regard to the membership in B_3 , one must be cautious here in determining whether a $\text{beR} + \text{BASE} + \text{an}$ form is indeed formed from the simulfix $\text{beR} + \text{an}$ plus a base in the middle or from $\text{beR} +$ plus a base which is already suffixed with the nominal marker $-\text{an}$. The criterion to be used is as follows: a $\text{beR} + \text{an}$ is to be considered a simulfix if the form $\text{BASE} + \text{an}$ by itself cannot stand alone as a word. *Bepergian*, *berjatuhan*, *beterbangan*, and *berdatangan* meet the above criterion since **pergian*, **jatuhan*, **terbangan*, and **datangan* cannot stand as words in the language. On the other hand, forms such as *berhalangan to be unable to do something*, *beranggapan to assume*, *berserakan to be scattered*, and *berlumuran to be stained with*, are excluded from B_3 , because the prefix $\text{beR} +$ is attached to bases which are already nominalised by the suffix $-\text{an}$. The forms *halangan*, *anggapan*, *serakan*, *lumuran* are nominals capable of standing alone in the language.³ These words, therefore, belong to B_1 .

Although the possessive meaning of $\text{beR} +$ is the most common and can be used with newly acquired concepts or words such as *diskusi discussion*, and *asimilasi assimilation*, there seems to be a constraint which prevents the formation from being totally productive. Forms such as **berayam* and **bersapi* to mean *to have chickens* and *to have cows* respectively are 'unusual' at best. Witness the strangeness of (12).

- (12) ?Dia tidak berayam / bersapi
he not have chicken have cow

The constraint is also found where the meaning of $\text{beR} +$ is *to make use of* (BASE) or *to produce* (BASE). Although we have forms such as *bersepeda to ride a sepeda=bike* and *bertelor to produce telur=egg* we question **berbis* and **berbuku* to respectively mean *to ride a bis=bus* and *to produce or write buku=books*.

is restricted to five subsets: ten does not see $\pm[\text{kan}]$. Therefore, there are only five subsets.

- termasuk *to include* termakan *to be eaten unintentionally*
 tertinggal *to be left unintentionally* terletak *to lie*

- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| terselesaikan | <i>to be finished</i> | tersampaikan | <i>to be deliverable</i> |
| tersembuhkan | <i>to be curable</i> | terabaikan | <i>to be neglected</i> |

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| terpenuhi <i>to be fulfilled</i> | teratasi <i>to be overcome</i> |
| tertimbang <i>to be balanced</i> | |

- terlempar(kan) *to be unintentionally thrown to/from*
 terkabul(kan) *to be fulfilled*
 terarah(kan) *to be directed* terpikir(kan) *to be thought*

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| terluka(i) <i>to be wounded</i> | tersaing(i) <i>to be rivaled</i> |
| terselimut(i) <i>to be covered</i> | ternoda(i) <i>to be stained</i> |

more verbs with -kan than -i.

proven, terletak *located*, and tertinggal *to be left unintentionally*.

In another situation we have verbs belonging to M which require the presence of a suffix, but the suffix becomes optional in T. The M counterparts of all the examples in T₅ above, for instance, must have the suffix -i, and yet this suffix is optional in T: *melukai to hurt*, *menyaingi to rival*, *menyelimuti to cover (with blankets)*, *menodai to stain*. There is no situation in which the teR- verb adds a suffix not found in the meN- counterpart. In other words, since *menduga to guess* belongs to M₁, the subset with no suffix, we can predict that **terdugakan* and **terdugai* do not occur in the language, although *terduga* does.

2.2.5 The ke-an verbs

As far as the occurrence of the affix ke-an with a base is concerned, there is only one subset, K, of which the members are formed by the formula ke+BASE+an. There are approximately forty-five bases in the language which belong to this set. Some examples: *kebakaran to be caught on fire*, *kebanjiran to be flooded*, *kehabisan to run out of*, and *kebingungan to be confused*.

Of this total, seven give us the impression that they are not formed by the simulfix ke-an, but rather by the prefix ke- added to a base already suffixed with -an. These seven verbs are *kebagian to get a portion of*, *kebingungan to be confused*, *kecurian to be stolen*, *kelupaan to forget*, *ketakutan to be frightened*, *ketiduran to fall asleep*, and *ketumpahan to be splashed with*. The forms *bagian a part*, *bingungan to get confused easily*, *curian stolen (X)*, *lupaan to forget easily*, *takutan to get scared easily*, *tiduran to lie around*, and *tumpahan things that one pours* do indeed occur, but the verbal meanings of the ke-an counter-parts are not deducible from the addition of ke- to the BASE+an alone. Nowhere do we find ke- which encompasses all the meanings given above. It is obvious that these verbs must be treated in the same way we treat *kebakaran*, *kebanjiran*, *kehabisan*, etc.

As far as syntactic collocations are concerned, nineteen of those in K permit no nouns occurring after them. Some of these verbs are *kebakaran to be caught on fire*, *keberatan to object*, *kesakitan to suffer from pain*, and *kecapaian to feel tired*. Nineteen verbs, on the other hand, allow nouns to occur. Some examples: *kebanjiran to get flooded*, *kekurangan to lack*, *ketinggalan to be left behind by (X)*. The other seven members require the presence of a noun. Some examples: *kedatangan to get visited by*, *kejatuhan to be struck by a falling (X)*, *kemasukan to get infiltrated by*.

2.2.6 Summary on affixation

The combinatorial possibilities of the prefixes and the suffixes are summarised in Chart 1. The sign 'x' means 'possible' and '-' 'impossible'.

Prefix					Suffix
meN-	memper-	beR-	teR-	ke-	
x	x	x	x	-	∅
x	x	-	x	-	+kan
x	x	-	x	-	+i
x	x	x	x	-	±kan
x	-	-	x	-	+ _i kan
x	x	-	-	-	+ _i [kan]
x	-	-	-	-	± _i [kan]
-	-	x	-	x	+an

Chart 1

2.2.7 Intersection among verbal sets

From 2.2.1 – 2.2.6 one may get the impression that the membership in the sets M, F, B, T, and K is mutually exclusive. This is, however, not the case. Many of the bases are shared by more than one set. Section 2.2.7.1 presents the intersection between M and B, and Section 2.2.7.2 between T and K.

2.2.7.1 The intersection of M and B

In this section I will discuss all of the subsets of M but only subset B_1 of set B. We recall that certain bases can or must occur with an affix or affixes in order to become verbs. Bantu *helping* must take only *meN-* but *kepala* a *head* must take also *-i* in order to function as verbs: *membantu* to *help* and *mengepalai* to *head*. On the other hand, the base asal *place of origin* must take *beR-* to form a verb: *berasal* to *originate*.

Despite this mutual exclusiveness, there are many bases which can occur with different affixes. If we now set up a Venn diagram for the M subsets and superimpose on it subset B_1 , we will have seven new subsets. These are:¹⁰

1. $BM_1 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR/meN+BASE}\}$. Examples:

<i>berlatih</i> to <i>practise</i>	<i>melatih</i> to <i>train</i>
<i>berburu</i> to <i>hunt</i>	<i>memburu</i> to <i>chase</i>
<i>berlantai</i> to <i>have a floor</i>	<i>melantai</i> to <i>dance</i>
2. $BM_2 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+kan}\}$. Examples:

<i>bekerja</i> to <i>work</i>	<i>mengerjakan</i> to <i>do</i>
<i>bercerai</i> to <i>be divorced</i>	<i>menceraikan</i> to <i>divorce</i>
<i>berhenti</i> to <i>stop</i>	<i>menghentikan</i> to <i>stop (X)</i>
3. $BM_3 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+i}\}$. Examples:

<i>berair</i> to <i>contain water</i>	<i>mengairi</i> to <i>irrigate</i>
<i>berlindung</i> to <i>take a shelter</i>	<i>melindungi</i> to <i>protect</i>
4. $BM_4 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+kan}\}$. Examples:

<i>berbuat</i> to <i>behave</i>	<i>membuat</i> to <i>make</i>
<i>membuatkan</i> to <i>make for someone</i>	<i>berjumlah</i> to <i>have a total of</i>
<i>menjumlah</i> to <i>total</i>	<i>menjumlahkan</i> to <i>add up</i>
5. $BM_5 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+i}\}$. Examples:

<i>berbohong</i> to <i>lie</i>	<i>membohong</i> to <i>lie</i>
<i>membohongi</i> to <i>deceive</i>	<i>berulang</i> to <i>happen again</i>
<i>mengulang</i> to <i>repeat</i>	<i>mengulangi</i> to <i>repeat (X)</i>
6. $BM_6 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+}[k^{\text{an}}_i]\}$. Examples:

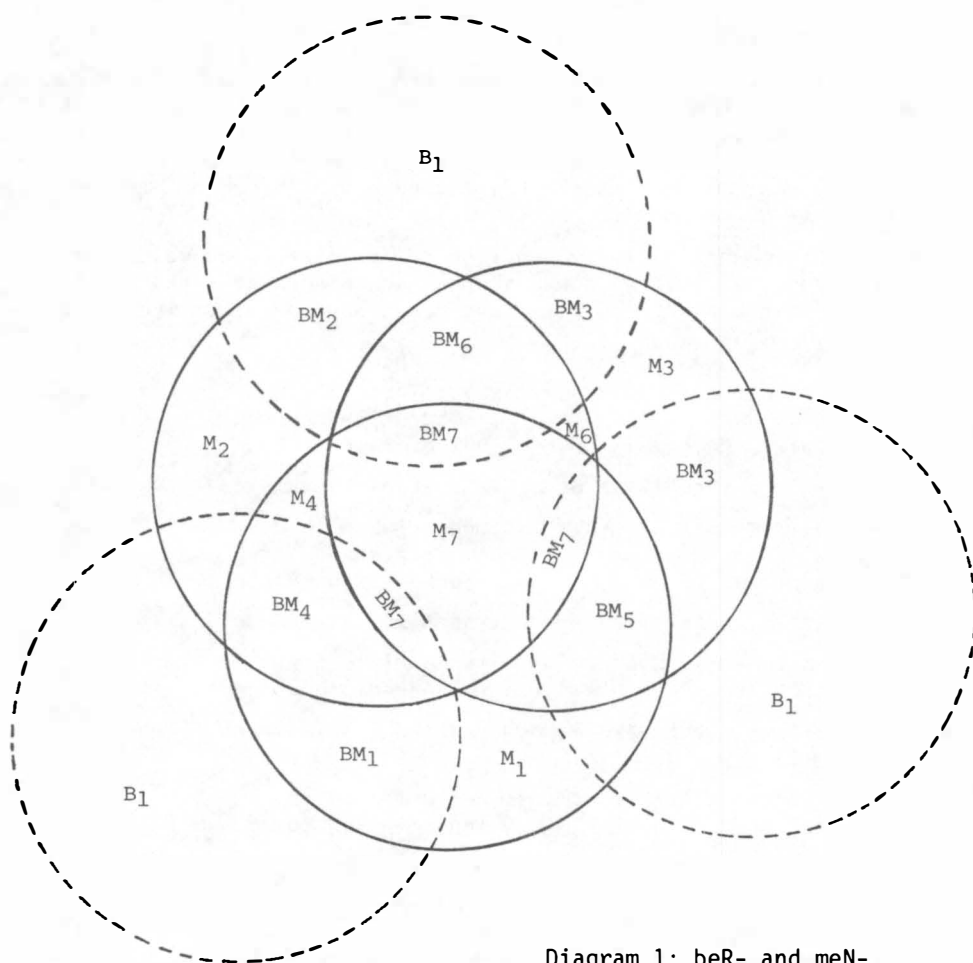
<i>berjalan</i> to <i>walk</i>	<i>menjalankan</i> to <i>operate</i>
<i>menjalani</i> to <i>endure</i>	<i>berkeliling</i> to <i>go around</i>
<i>mengelilingi</i> to <i>go around (X)</i>	<i>mengelilingkan</i> to <i>take (X) around</i>
7. $BM_7 = \{x : x \leftarrow \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+}[k^{\text{an}}_i]\}$. Examples:

<i>bercampur</i> to <i>be mixed</i>	<i>mencampur</i> to <i>mix</i>
<i>mencampurkan</i> to <i>mix</i>	<i>mencampuri</i> to <i>intervene</i>
<i>menggambar</i> to <i>draw</i>	<i>bergambar</i> to <i>have a picture made</i>
<i>menggambarkan</i> to <i>describe</i>	<i>menggambari</i> to <i>draw (on X)</i>

These subsets can be seen in diagram 1.

As stated earlier, there are approximately 700 bases which can occur in B_1 . Of this total, 300 are found also as members of M. The percentages are as follows: 11% in BM_1 , 40% in BM_2 , 16% in BM_3 , 16% in BM_4 , 1% in BM_5 , 8% in BM_6 , and 8% in BM_7 . Notice again here that bases which occur with *-kan*, that is, those in BM_2 and BM_4 , comprise more than 50%.

We know from 2.2.1 that a verb formed by *meN+BASE* can be intransitive. Since all *beR-* verbs are also intransitive, the question that immediately arises is: how do we form an intransitive verb? More specifically, what criteria do we use to determine which affix is to be selected to form this type



of verb? If we are given the base *kering*, how do we know that this base must take meN- and not beR- whereas *kerja* must take beR- and not meN- to produce *mengering* to *dry* and *berkerja* to *work* and discard at the same time the forms *berkering and *mengerja.

Although there does not seem to be a general criterion for all the verbs in BM, there are some generalisations that help us understand how these two sets of affixes operate. First, if the base is an adjective, it can occur only with meN-, resulting in an inchoative verb. We have *mengering* above and *mengecil* to *become small*, *menguning* to *become yellow*, etc., but not *berkering, *berkecil, and *berkuning respectively. Second, either prefix attached to a verbal base reiterates the verbal status of the resultant form. This being the case, the prefix loses its function and, therefore, can be deleted in informal Indonesian. We have, for instance, *berkerja* to *work*, *berlari* to *run*, *membeli* to *buy*, and *menjual* to *sell* as well as the informal forms *kerja*, *lari*, *beli*, and *jual*. Third, if a base takes either beR- or meN- (with or without a suffix), it almost always produces a difference in meaning, syntax, or both. *Berlatih* and *melatih* given in BM₁ are semantically and syntactically different.

The difference between *berburu* and *memburu*, also in BM₁, is more subtle. Although both can be glossed as *to hunt*, the *beR-* form indicates a generic action, whereas the *meN-* counterpart refers to a specific one. This can be seen from the acceptability of (13-15) and the rejection of (15) where the presence of the classifier *seekor* contradicts the generic nature of *berburu*.

- (13) Mereka *berburu* rusa.
 they hunt deer
 They go deer-hunting.
- (14) Mereka *memburu* rusa.
 they hunt deer
 They are hunting a deer.
- (15) Mereka *memburu seekor* rusa.
 they hunt CLASS. deer
 They are hunting a deer.
- (16) *Mereka *berburu seekor* rusa.

There are two, or possibly three, bases which can take *beR-* or *meN-* with no semantic or syntactic difference. These are *nyanyi*, *kembang*, and *bekas*. The verbs *bernyanyi-menyanyi*, *berkembang-mengembang*, and *berbekas-membekas* mean *to sing*, *to develop*, and *to leave a trace* respectively.

2.2.7.2 The intersection of K and T sets

While some people believe that *ke-an* and *teR-* are too close to each other to warrant a separate treatment, the similarity is in fact much more restricted. Out of the forty-five *ke-an* verbs, only six can occur with *teR-* with no semantic or syntactic difference. These bases are: *bakar*, *dengar*, *lihat*, *racun*, *tidur* and *tinggal*. There are four other bases which can belong to the sets K and T, but they show a semantic or syntactic difference: *bagi*, *dapat*, *masuk* and *tumpah*. *Terbagi to be divided* and *kebagian to get a portion of* are not only different in meaning but they also require different syntactic operations.¹¹ We must also note here that the bases which can also occur in K are only those that belong to T₁.

Naturally we have bases which can occur with *teR-* but not with *ke-an*, and vice versa. We have, for instance, *terbangun to be awakened*, *terbuka to be opened*, but not **kebangunan* (as a verb), and **kebukaan*. On the other hand, we have *kedatangan to be visited by* and *kehilangan to lose* but not **terdatang* and **terhilang*.

2.2.8 More intersections

If we look again at our Chart 1 in 2.2.6, we can see that in order to obtain a total picture of verbal information in Indonesian, we must take a column and contrast it with the other columns in the chart. Charts 2, 3, 4, and 5 represent progressively these contrasts with the signs 'x' and '-' indicating, as before, 'possible' and 'impossible'.

From the charts we can see which intersections are possible in the language. If we look at Chart 2, for instance, and read *memper+ø* across, we will see that there are *memper+ø* bases which can also occur with *meN+ø*, *meN+kan*, *men+kan*, *meN+[^kan]*, and *meN±[^kan]*, but not with *meN+i* and *MeN±i*. Examples: *memperhambat-menghambat*, *mempermudah-memudahkan*, *memperkecil-mengecil-mengecilkan*, *memperberat-memberatkan-memberati*, and *memperdalam-mendalam-mendalamkan-mendalami*.

	meN+ \emptyset	meN+kan	meN+i	meN \pm kan	meN \pm i	meN+ ^{kan} _i	meN \pm ^{kan} _i
memper+ \emptyset	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
memper+kan	-	x	-	x	x	x	x
memper+i	-	-	x	-	x	-	-
memper \pm kan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
memper+ ^{kan} _i	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
beR+ \emptyset	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
beR \pm kan	-	x	x	x	-	-	-
beR+an	-	x	-	-	-	x	x
teR+ \emptyset	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
teR+kan	-	x	-	-	-	-	x
teR+i	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
teR \pm kan	x	x	-	x	-	-	x
teR \pm i	-	-	x	-	-	-	x
ke-an	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Chart 2: Intersections of M with P, B, T, and K

	memper+ \emptyset	memper+kan	memper+i	memper kan	memper+ ^{kan} _i
beR+ \emptyset	x	x	x	-	-
beR \pm kan	-	-	-	x	-
beR+an	-	-	-	-	-
teR+ \emptyset	-	x	-	-	x
teR+kan	-	x	-	-	-
teR+i	-	-	x	-	-
teR \pm kan	-	x	-	-	-
teR \pm i	-	-	-	-	-
ke-an	x	x	-	-	-

Chart 3: Intersections of P with B, T, and K

	beR+ \emptyset	beR \pm kan	beR+an
teR+ \emptyset	x	x	x
teR+kan	x	-	-
teR+i	x	-	-
teR \pm kan	x	-	-
teR \pm i	x	-	-
ke-an	x	-	x

Chart 4: Intersections of B with T and K

	teR+ ϕ	teR+kan	teR+i	teR \pm kan	teR \pm i
ke-an	x	-	-	-	-

Chart 5: Intersections of T with K

If we read meN+ ϕ down, we will see that meN+ ϕ bases can only co-occur with memper+ ϕ , beR+ ϕ , teR+ ϕ , ter \pm kan, and ke-an. Examples: menghambat-memperhambat, membentuk-berbentuk, mengira-terkira, menjawab-terjawab(kan), mencopet-kecopetan.

Although I have not found a base which can take all of the prefixes, there are bases which can take four: melihat *to see*, memperlihatkan *to show*, terlihat *can be seen*, and kelihatan *can be seen*; mendengar *to hear* (as well as mendengarkan *to listen*), memperdengarkan *to present* (a song, etc.), terdengar *can be heard*, and kedengaran *can be heard*.

As mentioned before, there is one base in Indonesian which takes no affixes at all. This base is tiba *to arrive*. There is not even a noun to be derived from this base.

3. DISCUSSION

3.1 The list of morphemes

On the basis of the existence of a relationship between a signifiant and a signifié, I would treat forms such as halaman *page*, pegawai *worker*, perduli *to care*, percaya *to believe*, kecuali *except*, and semangat *spirit* as monomorphic forms. They will be listed in the LM as well as in the Dictionary. There is nothing we gain by treating them as bimorphic forms.

As I suggested in 1978c, the LM should contain both free and bound roots. The words used as evidence at that time werejuang *struggling*, anjur *suggesting*, and temu *meeting*. If we look at our data in Section 2 more carefully, we will see that the existence of bound roots is widespread among the verb sets.

In the M set, for instance, we have roots such as jurus *leading*, pancar *radiating*, and lolong *howling* which have no syntactic or semantic independence. These roots must take affixes to become verbs: menjurus *to lead or be specific*, menjuruskan *to lead (X)*, memancar *to radiate*, memancarkan *to radiate (X)*, melolong *to howl*. They must also take affixes to become other syntactic forms in the language: jurusan *direction*, pancaran *radiation*, and lolongan (a) *howling*. Still in the M set, we have the roots aju *forwarding*, alih *redirecting*, and selenggara *carrying out* which are not found anywhere without affixation, verbal or nominal.

In the P set the roots bincang *discussing* and silah *requesting (X to do Y)*, for instance, behave in the same way as jurus, pancar, etc. In the B set we have roots such as sua *meeting*, gegas *hurrying*, and dentum *booming* which must take beR- to become verbs: bersua *to meet*, bergegas *to hurry*, and berdentum *to boom*. In the T set we have, for instance, belalak *opening (one's eyes) wide* and lampias *taking (X) out on* which must be affixed to become words: terbelalak *widely opened (of eyes)*, terlampiaskan *to be the victim of*. And finally in the K set the roots jangkit *becoming infected with* and tular (same meaning) cannot stand alone in any syntactic construction.

We see from the examples above that in addition to free roots and affixes we also have bound roots that must be accommodated somewhere. It is only logical that LM is the place for such forms.

3.2 The word formation rules

One peculiarity about a WFR which distinguishes it from a phonological rule is that it must be permitted to operate on its own output. In order to derive the noun refusal in English we must allow the WFR to operate on refuse which itself is an output of a WFR. Given the Indonesian noun pemberontakkan *rebellion* and the verb memberontak *to rebel*, we must first determine whether the noun is derived from the verb, or vice versa. As I stated in 1978c, the principle of economy and generality will be maintained, if the verbs are derived first.

Suppose that we agree now to derive the verbs before the nouns. A problem immediately arises in the verb formation where a base is shared by more than one affix. Obviously, a choice must be made either (1) to select a basic verb and form the other related verbs transformationally, (2) to select a basic verb from which other related verbs are formed through the WFRs, or (3) to form all the verbs sharing the same base simultaneously.

If there were syntactic and semantic consistencies between a chosen basic verb and its other related verbal forms, the first choice would be ideal. We would be able to set up a class of basic verbs and form the rest of the verbs sharing the same bases through transformation. The corollary of this solution would be that the Dictionary would contain only basic verbs. If for the base *lihat* we choose *lihat to see* as the basic verb, we will only have this verb in the Dictionary. The rest of the verbs, *melihat to see*, *memperlihatkan to show*, *terlihat can be seen*, and *kelihatan can be seen* would be formed through transformation. The same is true with verbs from other sets or subsets. If we postulate *jatuh to fall* as the basic verb, we will form the verbs *menjatuhkan to topple*, *menjatuhkan to fall on (X)*, *berjatuhan to fall* (plural subject), and *kejatuhan to be struck by a falling (X)* through transformation.

The problem with the above approach is that there is no syntactic and semantic consistency. In the P set, for instance, while the predominant meaning of *memper-* attached to an adjective base is *to make more (Adjective)*, thus producing forms such as *memperbaiki to make more baik=good*, we do not have **memperbetuli* or **memperusak* to mean *to make more betul=correct* and *to make more rusak=damaged*. As stated in 2.2.2, the acceptance of forms such as *memperbanyak to make more banyak=many; to multiply*, and the uncertain status of **mempersedikit to make more sedikit=less; to reduce* create a problem for a transformational approach.

The second choice, which uses a WFR to form verbs from a basic verb, has an advantage over the first in that a WFR is not required to be applicable to all types of bases. One problem that remains to be solved pertains to the choice of the basic verb from which other verbs sharing the same base are to be formed. Given the free root *jatuh*, which of the following verbs are to be chosen as basic: *jatuh to fall*, *menjatuhkan to topple*, *menjatuhkan to fall on (X)*, *kejatuhan to be struck by a falling (X)*, or *berjatuhan to fall* (plural subject)?

Native speakers' intuition on what is basic can in fact be explained in terms of what Marchand calls 'semantic dependence': the word that is dependent on the content of the other pair member is necessarily the derivative (1964: 244). We can see here that the meaning of the verb *jatuh* above is inherent in the rest of the verbs with the same base.

The second criterion is economy. If we were to choose any of the affixed verbs as basic, we would have to set up two rules to form the rest of the verbs. One type of rule is to delete the affixes from the chosen basic verb in order

to form a non-affixed verb. Suppose we choose *menjatuhkan* as basic, we have to delete *meN-* and *-kan* to get *jatuh*. Another type of rule is to replace the affixes with other affixes. To form *berjatuhan*, for instance, we must replace *meN-* and *-kan* with *beR-* and *-an*.

Semantic dependence and economy, which, from another angle, are synonymous with simplicity, seem to justify our selecting the unaffixed form as our basic verb. The WFRs to form these verbs are applicable to those I have labelled as V_1 , V_{2a} , and V_{2b} . In the case of V_{2b} we may have to add the feature */+informal/* to the bases to accommodate the fact that these bases, with proper or no suffixes, can stand alone in informal style.

The proposed solution above, however, stumbles when applied to the bases under V_{2c} in which the unaffixed forms are bound roots. In order for the base *temu* *meeting*, for instance, to become a verb it must take an affix or affixes: *menemukan* *to find*, *menemui* *to meet with*, *mempertemukan* *to make (X) meet (Y)*, or *bertemu* *to meet (by chance)*. Since by definition no form having a status less than a word is to be listed in the Dictionary, the bases in V_{2c} cannot be listed. This leaves us with two choices: (1) to form a verb and use it as our basic verb to form the rest of the related verbs, and (2) to form all the verbs simultaneously.

Unlike the case with the free roots we have just discussed, the bound roots have a special problem. We have no syntactically and semantically independent unaffixed form to use as the base. Therefore, we are compelled to select an affixed form as our basic verb and form the rest afterward. Here we stumble on having to make a choice arbitrarily. Even if we are able to say that there is a semantic ground that ties all the *temu* verbs together, namely, all of these verbs have something to do with meeting or finding, there does not seem to be non-arbitrary ground to support our claim that *bertemu*, for instance, is basic.

Our second choice, the simultaneous formation, seems to offer a better solution since we do not have to make an arbitrary commitment as to which verbs are basic and which are derivative. The interrelatedness of the verbs in the Dictionary is still maintained by the same base which the verbs share.

In view of the cases presented in this section, especially those which involve the formation of verbs from bound roots such as *temu*, *juang*, *sua*, etc., we are compelled to refute Aronoff's contention that the base upon which a WFR operates must be a word. Cases from V_{2c} clearly indicate that Indonesian has roots which are less than words and yet must be used as bases to generate verbs.

If we agree now that the base upon which a WFR operates does not have to be a word, we must also discard Aronoff's requirement that the base bear syntactic subcategories, selectional features, lexically governed entailments, and presuppositions. Bases of this type do not even have syntactic categories and independent meanings, let alone syntactic subcategories, selectional features, etc. They acquire all of these features after a WFR has been applied.

3.3 The Filter

We have just concluded that for Indonesian, and very likely also other languages in Indonesia, there must be two types of verb formation: (1) that which selects a basic verb and forms the rest of the related verbs by means of a WFR, and (2) that which forms all the verbs sharing the same base simultaneously.

A general problem in the formation of a syntactic category is that we often have to observe certain constraints for our rules. In English, for instance, we can derive nouns from verbs by using the suffix *-tion* or *-al* to obtain derivation, observation, arrival, and refusal. Note, however, that we do not have **derival*, **observal*, **arrival*, and **refusation*, despite the possibility of recitation-recital, proposition-proposal, and approbation-approval.

In Indonesian we have similar cases. We can set up a rule that covers most, but not all, cases. Attempts have been made (Dardjowidjojo 1971, 1977, 1978b; Tampubolon 1977a (1983), 1977b), for instance, to use semantic features to form one type of verbs from another. Tampubolon recently (1977b) used inchoative and causative features to form process and action verbs from a state verb. Using the state verb *lebar* *to be wide* he forms *melebar* *to widen* inchoatively and *melebarkan* *to widen* (X) causatively.

Looking at the inchoative and causative processes in Indonesian as a whole, we are indeed able to say that these processes are very general, and yet we have cases in which the rule cannot be applied for no apparent reason. The state verbs *cantik* *beautiful*, *indah* *beautiful*, *kaya* *rich* (Tampubolon 1977b:29) and many others are questionable as process verbs ?**mencantik*, ?**mengindah*, and ?**mengaya* despite the logic and availability of the semantic and syntactic slots for them. The most we can say about the causative process is that they are very productive, and yet we still question the acceptability of forms such as ?**mencantikkan*, ?**mengindahkan*, and ?**mengayakan* to mean *to beautify*, *to beautify*, and *to enrich* respectively, at least in contemporary Indonesian.

The problem on productivity is not limited to the inchoative and causative processes. We discussed in 3.2 the unacceptability of **memperbetuli*, **memperusaki*, etc. Membership in the K set also shows a constraint. While the predominant meaning of *ke-an* is *adversative and unexpected*, thus giving us the verbs *keracunan* *to suffer from racun=poinson; get poisoned*, *kecopetan* *to suffer from a copet=pickpocket; to get your pocket picked*, and *kedatangan* *to get visited by unexpectedly*, we at least question ?**kegranatan* *to suffer from a granat=grenade; get blown up by a grenade*, ?**kegarongan* *to suffer from a garong=robber; get robbed*, and ?**kepergian* *to be left by unexpectedly*. We expect sentences such as (17a) to be as acceptable as (17b), but apparently this is not the case, at least in contemporary Indonesian.

- (17a) ?*Dia kepergian kekasihnya.*
she left by sweetheart her
Her sweetheart left her.

- (17b) *Dia kematian kekasihnya.*
she died by sweetheart her
Her sweetheart died.

In the B set as discussed in 2.2.3 we also have peculiarities. We have forms such as *bersepeda* *to ride a sepeda=bike* and *bertelor* *to produce/lay a telor=egg* but question ?**berbis* and ?**berbuku* to mean *to ride a bis=bus* and *to produce a buku=book* respectively.

In some cases there may be an explanation for the non-occurrence of certain lexical items. In the case of the process verbs formed from their state counterparts we find that the inchoative process competes with a syntactic construction in which the inchoativity is manifested in the form of a lexical item, *jadi* *to become*, which is applicable to all and any state verbs.

We can, therefore, have *jadi lebar to become wide; to widen* as well as *jadi cantik to become beautiful, jadi indah to become beautiful, and jadi kaya to become rich*.

The causative verbs ?*mencantikkan, ?*mengindahkan, and ?*mengayakan are rivalled by a syntactic construction of the form *bikin (X) (BASE)*. This leads us to accept sentences such as (18) but at best question (19).

- (18) Tanam2an itu bikin kota Jakarta cantik.
 plants the make city beautiful
 The plants make Jakarta beautiful.

- (19) ?Tanam2an itu mencantikkan kota Jakarta.

In the P set the the meaning *to make more (BASE)* can also be expressed by *bikin (X) lebih (BASE)*. We have *memperbesar to enlarge, memperbanyak to multiply, bikin lebih besar to enlarge, bikin lebih banyak to multiply*, as well as *bikin lebih rusak to make (X) worse, bikin lebih sedikit to make (X) less, and bikin lebih kosong to make (X) more empty*.

The meanings *to possess* and *to make use of* in the B set are rivalled by *punya+BASE* and *pakai/naik+BASE*. Thus, while we do not have or question forms such as ?*bersapi, ?*berayam, ?*berbis, ?*berdelman, we have *punya sapi to have a cow, punya ayam to have a chicken, naik/pakai bis to ride a bus, and naik/pakai delman to ride a horse-drawn wagon*.

The K and T sets show an interesting phenomenon. We recall that the membership, thus also productivity, is very limited. Suppose we have a situation in which an adversative and unexpected event, such as the entering of a devil into a child's body, happens. We can say:

- (20) Dia kemasukan setan.
 he penetrated by devil
 He is possessed by a devil.

However, if this same child adversatively and unexpectedly eats a handful of kapok, we cannot say:

- (21) *Dia kemakanan kapuk
 he eat kapok

A possible explanation for this case is that there is a rival form, *termakan*, which is found in the language. Thus, (21) is rendered as (22)

- (22) (Segumpal) kapuk termakan dia.
 handful kapok eaten he
 A handful of kapok was eaten (adversatively) by him.

The presence of *kemakanan along with termakan is presumably considered redundant.

While the above explanation seems logical, the fact of the matter is that we do have evidence which is contradictory. As we can see from 2.2.7.2, the existence of a *ke-an* form does not necessarily preclude a *teR-* form. We have *ketinggalan-tertinggal, kebakaran-terbakar, kedengaran-terdengar* etc. with members of each pair having the same meaning.

Even if we had an explanation for all of the idiosyncrasies mentioned above, one problem still remains unsolved, namely, why within a certain set only certain roots are permitted to become words, while other roots with the same semantic features are not? Why do we have *melebar, bersepeda, memperbaiki*,

kedatangan, but not ?*mencantik, ?*berdelman, ?*memperbetuli, and ?*kepergian as their parallel forms? Related to this group of unacceptable forms are those which are rejected simply because the affixational choice is unacceptable. I am referring to forms such as *mengamali, *merestukan, *mengerja, *terselesai, etc. By a sheer intuition the bases amal, restu, kerja, and selesai belong, in addition to any other subsets, to the subsets M₂, M₃, B₁, and T₂ respectively. Therefore, amal must take meN-kan, restu meN-i, kerja beR, and selesai teR-kan.

A distinction must be made here between these two groups. The first group, which includes not only forms such as ?*mencantik but also forms such as ?*menggugatkan, ?*berayam, etc., constitutes an accidental gap within the verbal system. As a corollary, it would not be too surprising to see these forms used in the future or used now by people from certain parts of Indonesia or for certain purposes. For cross reference purposes, I will call this group Reject One, R₁. The second group, where *mengamali, *merestukan, etc. are found, is more systematic in the sense that their affixational affiliation is some kind of 'pre-determined'. This group will be labelled R₂.

Since a WFR generates all the potential words in the language, it generates not only those verbs in V₁ and in the sets M, P, B, T, and K, but also those in R₁ and R₂. The potential and the actual words must be separated and this is done by a mechanism we have called Filter. For nominal derivation, I suggested that we set up some kind of 'coarse' and 'fine' screens so that we will be able to prevent forms such as *perhargaan from passing the Filter and allow not only forms such as pertandingan *a (sport) match*, but also ?*penandingan *act of putting one team against another*. I believe that we can do the same for verbs. Those under M, P, B, T, and K plus those in V₁ will be generated and stored in the Dictionary. Those under R₁ should also be generated, but perhaps we should add a feature such as /-common/ to distinguish them from the verbs now in use. Those under R₂ should be blocked.

Together with the WFRs the Filter must also attach the semantic idiosyncrasies to the verbs which will be stored in the Dictionary. Verbs such as memohon *to request*, kehilangan *to lose*, bertemu *to meet*, menemui *to meet with*, and mengawini *to marry*, for instance, must be idiosyncratically specified. Memohon can only be from a person lower in status than the one to whom the request is directed. Kehilangan must be marked in such a way that the thing lost must belong to the person losing it. Bertemu and menemui must be so marked that the former bears the semantic idiosyncrasy /-volition/ while the latter /+volition/. The verb mengawini is somewhat complicated. Under normal circumstances this verb must be specified in such a way that the patient noun bear the feature /+female/. This is to allow sentences such as (23) and prevent, or perhaps discourage, (24),

- (23) Yasin akan mengawini Siti.
 Yasin will marry Siti
 Yasin will marry Siti.

- (24) Siti akan mengawini Yasin.
 Siti will marry Yasin.

where Yasin is a male and Siti a female. Admittedly, if Siti is such a well-known figure as, say, Elizabeth Taylor, (24) is probably all right.

Phonological idiosyncrasies must be observed. The verbs menterjemahkan *to translate* and mencuci *to wash* for instance, often retain the t and the c after the prefix meN-, deviating from the normal phonological rule of

Indonesian. The verb mempunyai *to possess*, despite its frequency of occurrence, retains the *p* after *meN-* and drops the suffix *-i* in informal style. The dropping of the suffix is not seen anywhere else in the language.

Halle presents only three types of idiosyncrasy as represented above. It seems necessary to add a fourth category to handle syntactic idiosyncrasies. In Indonesian, as in many other languages, there are verbs which occur only in certain types of syntactic constructions. As stated before in 2.2.1 the verb *merupakan* is not transitive. Consequently, it cannot be passivised. We can indicate this fact with a feature such as */-passive/*.

On the other hand, we also have verbs which occur naturally in a passive construction. We recall the verbs *diperbuat* and *diperumpamakan* from 2.2.2. The verbs *dibeginikan to be done this way*, *dibegitukan to be done that way*, *dipenjarakan to be imprisoned*, *dipidatokan to be delivered as a speech*, and *dinakali to be teased* are more natural than their active counterparts *?membeginikan*, *?membegitukan*, *?memenjarakan*, *?memidatokan*, and *?menakali*. Verbs of this type should be marked */+passive/*.

Let us now return to the occurrence and non-occurrence of certain lexical items to which we alluded before. Halle briefly touches on this matter and states that it is the content of the Dictionary which more or less determines what words can be generated (1973:10). The fact that English has forms such as *arrival* and *confusion* precludes the possibility of the occurrence of **arrivation* and **confusal*. As Halle himself admitted, this cannot be the whole explanation since we have cases such as *recital-recitation*, *transmittal-transmission*, etc. Another problem with Halle's explanation is that in order for us to say that *X* precludes *Y* we must assume that *X* must have existed before *Y*. This is not only difficult to prove, especially in less documented languages, but also runs into contradiction. In the case of Indonesian nominals, as stated in my 1978c article, if we say that forms such as **perperiksaan*, **perderitaan*, and **perselesaian* do not occur simply because we have *pemeriksaan investigation*, *penderitaan suffering*, and *penyelesaian solution*, we must assume that the latter have existed in the language before the former. Even if this statement can be proven, we have no way, except by reversing the statement, of explaining why *percobaan an attempt*, *permintaan a request*, and *perlawanan opposition* occur instead of **pencobaan*, **pemintaan*, and **pellawanan* especially when we know that all of them are derived from the *meN-* verbs.

We have the same problem with our verbal formation. We cannot say that **mengamali*, **memenuhi*, and **terdatangi* do not occur because we have *mengamalkan to put into practice*, *memenuhi to fulfill*, and *kedatangan to get visited by* without running into the same difficulty. We have, for instance, just the opposite cases: the bases *restu*, *aju*, and *tutup* must take *meN-i*, *meN-kan*, and *teR-*, but not *meN-kan*, *meN-i*, and *ke-an* respectively: *merestui to bless*, *mengajukan to put forward*, and *tertutup closed*, but not **merestukan*, **mengajui*, and **ketutupan*.

Aronoff's mechanism, called blocking, which says that the non-occurrence of one form is due to the simple existence of another (1976:43) encounters the same problem. Occasionally we do have an explanation for some of our cases, as we stated before, but the explanation fails to encompass all cases. We still do not know, for instance, why only certain bases can become verbs while others with the same features cannot.

Until otherwise proven, I believe that we can only describe, but not explain, this phenomenon in language.

3.4 The Dictionary

The criteria which Chomsky uses to determine which nouns are to be listed in the lexicon are: (1) the regularity of form, (2) the regularity of meaning, and (3) the absence of the internal structure of a noun phrase (1972:16). I believe that two, (1) and (2), of the above criteria can be used also for verbs.

Since none of the verbs in Indonesian meet the above requirements, we must list all of the verbs in the Dictionary. Our Dictionary will, therefore, contain (a) singleton forms such as *tiba*, (b) unaffixed forms such as *datang*, and (c) affixed forms such as *mendatang*, *mendatangkan*, etc., and (d) uncommon forms such as **menggugatkan*. Forms under (d) may have to be marked /-common/ to indicate their uncertain status.

4. CONCLUSION

In view of the evidence we have from our verbal formation, I believe that while Halle's and Aronoff's theories are very promising, they need to be revised. I propose the following changes: (1) Halle's List of Morphemes should be limited only to affixes and roots which have a signifiant and signifié relationship. This excludes forms such as *va-* and *bro-* from the list; (2) the roots in the LM must be split into free and bound roots to accommodate forms such as *datang* as well as *sua*; in the case of a bound root it is not possible to assign a syntactic category, let alone subcategories, selectional features, presuppositions, etc.; (3) the base upon which a WFR applies does not have to be a word; otherwise, there is no way we can generate verbs such as *bersua*, *memperjuangkan*, etc. which are formed from the bound roots *sua* and *juang*, respectively; (4) the Filter must be so constructed that it will let go forms here labelled as *R₁: *menggugatkan*, **mencantik*, etc.; and (5) it may be necessary to set up a fourth idiosyncrasy for peculiarities in syntax.

NOTES

1. This paper is the first preliminary report of an ongoing project on "The lexicon of Indonesian" funded by the University of Hawaii Office of Research Administration. The data are taken primarily from Poerwadarminta's *Kamus umum Bahasa Indonesia* with entries added or deleted as deemed necessary. We do not always agree with Poerwadarminta's assignment of affixes.
2. The terms 'to form' and 'formation', rather than 'derive' and 'derivation', are used here to generate one verb from another.
3. I believe that the grouping of *baca* under *V_{2a}* is more defensible than that taken by Verhaar (1978:13) who considers this word as being a bound form.
- ?? 4. The so-called infixes such as *-el-*, *-em-*, and *-er-* are so unproductive and well blended with the base as to deserve no morphological treatment in this paper.
5. Read "M is the set of all x's such that x is formed from..." The signs "+" and "±" mean obligatory and optional respectively.

6. Since this paper is preliminary in nature and the data have not been subjected to final scrutiny, the figures throughout this paper should not be considered absolute. The percentage figures, however, are not expected to change very much.
7. Verbs such as *menyenangkan to please*, *menguntungkan to be profitable* may appear without an object. This is true only if the 'hidden' object is the speaker himself or people in general. Otherwise, the object must be explicitly given.
8. The boundary between a rejected form and a questionable one is sometimes hard to draw. See the R₁ and R₂ distinction in 3.3.
9. I am not sure what to do with forms such as *berdekatan to be near to each other* and *berjauhan to be far from each other*. They normally occur as some kind of complements to the predicate verb: *Mereka tinggal berdekatan they live near each other* where *tinggal* functions as the sentence verb.
10. The same classification was erroneously reported in Dardjowidjojo 1977.
11. Excluded from this category are forms such as *terdahulu first* and *kedahuluan to beat to the punch* where the former is not a verb.

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THE VERBAL 'ASPECT': A CASE OF THE INDONESIAN 'PASSIVES'

Bambang Kaswanti Purwo

Sandra Chung (1976) refers to the Indonesian verbal constructions¹ of (1)a-f and (1)g-n as *canonical passive* and *object preposing* respectively.²

(1)	a.	dibeli	} 3rd person 'passive' [canonical passive]
	b.	dibeli (oleh) Ali	
	c.	dibelinya	
	d.	dibeli olehnya	
	e.	dibeli (oleh) dia	
	f.	dibeli (oleh) mereka	
	g.	kubeli	} 1st and 2nd person 'passive' [object preposing]
	h.	saya beli	
	i.	kaubeli	
	j.	kamu beli	
	k.	kami beli	
	l.	kita beli	
	m.	{dia beli	} 3rd person 'passive' [object preposing]
	n.	{mereka beli	

Chung's attempt to describe the distinction between the two 'passive' constructions has been discussed elsewhere (Kaswanti Purwo 1981). This paper is an attempt to see the difference between constructions like (1)a-f and (1)g-n; the former is postposed agentive, and the latter is preposed agentive construction. In order to understand these two constructions I am taking the following steps. I want to distinguish the context in which the *dibelinya* construction type is used as opposed to the *dia beli* construction type. My examples will be mainly from third person passive, since unlike first and second person passive, the third person passive can be either preposed or postposed. The second step is examining Classical Malay. By investigating Classical Malay from the 16th and 19th century I find mutually exclusive contexts for the use of preposed and postposed third person passive. This gives me insights into the special contextualisation of the different usage of each of the two constructions in modern (written) Indonesian. There are also differences between construction (1)c and the other *di-* constructions (canonical passive), but they will not be the central issues here.³

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There have been various theories concerning the *di-* form. It has been proposed that verbal *di-* originated from the preposition *di* (Tendeloo 1901, Spat 1931; noted in Emeis 1945:161ff.), from the pronoun *dia* (Van Ophuijsen 1915; noted in Haaksma 1933:1979), and from the reflexive *diri* (Haaksma 1933:170). The first theory leads to the interpretation of *di-+-+--nya* (*di-stem-nya*) as a nominal rather than a verbal construction, *-nya* being possessive (Van der Tuuk 1971:122; noted in Verhaar 1978:15). The historical validity of the theories constructed by those grammarians is not the concern of the present paper. I would rather examine the third person 'passive' construction in its syntactic context. The data include modern Indonesian texts as well as the colloquial Malay of the 16th century and classical Malay texts of the 15th and 19th centuries.

There are various *di-* constructions in the Malay text of the 15th century (*Hikayat Pandawa Lima*):

- (2) oleh + agent + *di-+-+--nya*
Maka senjata itu pun patah. Maka oleh Maharaja Gatotkhacha ditikam-nya dengan sa-kali tikam Sang Ayuda pun mati. (HPL 124)
- (3) *di-+-+--nya* + oleh + agent
Maka Sang Dasta Jama di-sindir-nya oleh Sang Setyaki kata-nya, "[...]" (HPL 129)
- (4) *di-+-+--nya* + agent
[...] kerana kakak Bima ini bukan mendengar kata barang sedikit, kata-nya juga yang di-dengar-nya orang. (HPL 175)
- (5) *di-+-+--nya*
Maka Sang Bima pun segera mengambil Parikasti itu lalu di-bawa-nya berjalan menuju ka-negeri Astinapura itu. (HPL 193)
- (6) *di-+-+ + olehnya*
Maka di-panah oleh Danyang Drona kena Maharaja Mangaspati lalu mati. Sa-telah di-lihat oleh-nya Maharaja Mangaspati akan Maharaja Derpa Daya pun tampil pula. (HPL 127)
- (7) oleh + agent + *di-+-+*
Maka oleh Maharaja Salya di-uraikan sanggul Dawi Satyawati. (HPL 150)
- (8) *di-+-+ + oleh + agent*
Sa-telah di-dengar oleh Betara Krishna kata Sang Rajuna itu, maka Betara Krishna memegang cakra-nya. (HPL 120)
- (9) *di-+-+ + agent*
[...] akan serta Maharaja Karna itu pun di-anugerahi baginda juga persalin sa-lengkap-nya dan [...] (HPL 130)
- (10) *di-+-+ (without agent)*
Maka Maharaja Duryudana dan segala raja² Korawa pun meshuarat berkata² membicharakan pekerjaan perang. Maka di-bicharakan tiada ada orang lain yang dapat melawan Sang Bima dan Sang Rajuna melainkan [...] (HPL 130)

Of these nine constructions only six can be found in modern Indonesian, namely (5), through to (10).⁴ What is worth noting here is that the *dia* + zero verb constructions (like (1)m) cannot be found in the narrative *Hikayat Pandawa Lima* (15th century) nor in *Sedjarah Melaju* (19th century),⁵ while in the conversations in 16th century Malay compiled by Frederick de Houtman (Lombard ed. 1970) there are *dia* + zero verb constructions instead of *di-+-+--nya* constructions.⁶

The difference between a narrative context (i.e. an indirect speech act) and a non-narrative context (i.e. a direct speech act) is probably one of the factors which determines the choice between *di-+--+nya* in the first and *dia + zero verb* in the second context.

According to Yeoh Chiang Kee (personal communication) the *dia + zero verb* is not acceptable in modern written Malay, but it is acceptable in spoken language. In Indonesian, however, the two constructions are found in written language (of writers like Mochtar Lubis, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Marga T.) as well as in spoken language. I haven't examined the written and spoken language thoroughly, but the data I have collected so far show that the two constructions are not always interchangeable.

Under certain circumstances there is a restriction to the choice of one instead of the other: *di-+--+nya* is not acceptable in performative sentences (in the sense of Austin 1962, quoted from J.R. Ross 1970:222ff.) like (11) and (12).

- (11) Hal itu harus { *dikerjakannya } sekarang
 thing that must he do (work) now
 He must do that now (that has to be done by him now).
- (12) Saya minta hal ini supaya { *dikerjakannya } dengan segera
 I request thing this he do (work) with soon
 I request that this be executed by him soon.

Austin's definition of performative sentences, as quoted by Ross (1970:222) is as follows:

Performative sentences must have *first person* subjects and usually have *second person* direct or indirect objects [...] they must be in the *present tense*, [...] (*italics mine*)

The direct speech act as the context for the *dia + zero verb* constructions is similar to Austin's restrictions on performative sentences; it is characterised by first and second person. The indirect speech act (the narrative context), on the other hand, is characterised by third person. In such a context *di-+--+nya* constructions mark a successivity of actions⁷ (see Verhaar 1978; Kaswanti Purwo 1981b), or continuity of topic (Becker, personal communication), as can be seen in the following examples.

- (13) Kali Lusi melingkari separoh bagian kota Blora yang sebelah selatan
 river encircle half part town which side south
 [...] Dan air yang mengalir damai itu tiba-tiba berpusing-
 and water which flow peacefully that suddenly turn round
 pusing dan mengamuk gila. Diseretinya rumpun-rumpun bambu di
 and do amuck madly DI-carry away-NYA banks bamboo in
 sepanjang tepi [...] Digugurnya tebing-tebing dan
 along edge DI-wash away-NYA banks and
 diseretinya beberapa bagian ladang penduduk.
 DI-sweep away-NYA some parts fields people
 The Lusi River encircles half of the southern section of Blora. [...] And the water which had flowed peacefully, suddenly churns madly. Clumps of bamboo along the banks are carried away [...] The banks are destroyed by it and the fields of the local people are swept away.

- (14) Johnny muncul dengan nasi goreng-nya. Diletakkannya kursi yang
 appear with rice fried his DI-place-NYA *chair which*
 dibawanya ke dekat Siska. Diangkatnya piring adik-
 DI-carry along-NYA to close DI-lift-NYA plate younger sister-
 nya dari lantai dan diberikannya pada-nya.
 his from floor and DI-give-NYA to *her*
 Johnny appeared with his fried rice. He placed the chair (which he
 had been carrying) close to Siska. He raised Siska's plate from the
 floor and gave it to her.

A comparison between first person + meN- verb and first person + zero verb constructions goes to show that an opposition between narrative and non-narrative verbal aspect in a language like Indonesian deserves consideration. Compare the following examples, where the zero verb is grammatical in (15), but ungrammatical in (16).

- (15) Saya { *mendoakan } supaya kamu menang nanti.
 I { doakan } in order that you win later
 pray
 I pray that you will win.
- (16) Saya { mendoakan } supaya kamu menang, tetapi ternyata
 I { *doakan } in order that you win but it turns out
 pray
 kamu kalah.
 you lose
 I prayed that you would win, but you lost.

The activity described in the zero verb (15) is related to the present time (the time which involves the presence of the speaker). The time of speaking and the time to which the zero verb refers coincide. With the meN- verb (16) the speaker's involvement in the activity described is (already) a past event; it does not coincide with the time of speaking.

Another comparison between meN- verb and zero verb constructions yields another characteristic of personal pronoun + zero verb which differs from the di-+-nya construction. The following examples help illustrate the difference.

- (17) Kalau waktu itu aku bisa mengatakan, pastilah kuucapkan bahwa
 if time that I can speak certainly I say that
 sesungguhnya bunda [...] (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 43)
 in fact mother
 If I could have spoken then, I would certainly have said that in
 fact mother [...]
- (18) Kalau waktu itu dia bisa mengatakan, pastilah { dia katakan }
 if time that he can speak certainly { *dikatakannya }
 bahwa sesungguhnya [...] that in fact
 If he could have spoken then, he would certainly have said that [...]

The di-+-nya construction cannot be foregrounded;⁸ for such a context the dia + zero verb is used instead (18). The contrast between dia + zero verb and dia-+-nya constructions is also noticeable in the following comparison:

- (19) Tidak sedikit yang sudah ia lakukan bagi Nusantara kita yang
not little which already he do for our which
 tercinta ini. (Kompas 14 June 1980, IV)
beloved this
It is not little, what he has done for our beloved country
(Nusantara).
- (20) Dan sebenarnya pula, apakah sungguh dosa yang telah dilakukannya
and actually really sinful which already DI-do-NYA
 itu. (Mochtar Lubis 109)
that
And actually, was what he did really sinful?

In (19) the construction *dia* + zero verb co-occurs with *sudah*, whereas in (20) the construction *di-+-nya* co-occurs with *telah*. While *telah* is more likely to be used as a background (and in past narration), *sudah* is more likely to be used as a foreground (and in historical present); for further discussion on *telah* and *sudah* see Kaswanti Purwo (1979). It is tempting to suspect that there is a similar opposition between *sudah* and *telah* on the one hand and between *dia* + zero verb and *di-+-nya* on the other hand, but further investigation is needed before any conclusion is made.

An inquiry into languages related to Indonesian (and Malay) which also have the verbal *di-* construction – such as Sundanese, Javanese, Toba Batak and Lampung – might help clarify the difference between the *dia* + zero verb and the *di-+-nya* construction, even though of these four languages, only Lampung has the equivalent *di-+-nya* construction (i.e. *di-+-ni*), and none of the four have the equivalent *dia* + zero verb construction. Despite this shortcoming for a comparative study, there could be, I suggest, a pair of forms which also contrasts in ways similar to the contrast between *dia* + zero verb and *di-+-nya* in Indonesian; there is, however, such a contrast in Javanese. Consider the following pair of constructions in Javanese: *tak jupuk* (personal pronoun + zero verb) and *olèhku njupuk* (*olèh* + possessive pronoun + verb); let us call the former construction 1 (C1, for short) and the latter construction 2 (C2, for short);⁹ below the Javanese is the Indonesian translation with the English gloss.

- (21) Montor iki {**tak* *tuku*
 { *olèhku* *tuku* } (rong taun kepungkur)
rega telung yuta; saiki yèn kowé gelem tukua rong yuta.
Mobil ini saya beli (dua tahun yang lalu) seharga tiga juta;
car this I buy two year which past price three million
sekarang kalau kau mau belilah dengan harga dua juta.
now if you want buy with price two million
This car I bought for three million rupiahs (two years ago); now, if
you want, buy it for two million.
- (22) Montor iki sidané *tak* *tuku* *rega telung yuta.*¹⁰
Mobil ini akhirnya saya beli seharga tiga juta.
car this finally I buy with price three million
I finally bought this car for three million.

The difference between C1 (*tak* *tuku*) and C2 (*olèhku* *tuku*) is concerned with temporal deixis also. C1 cannot be used to refer to a certain point in a past event (21); for such a context C2 must be used instead. The act of

buying the car in (21) is new information to the hearer, and C2 is used in this context. If the information is old (in the sense that the hearer already shares the knowledge of buying the car) C1 would be used (22). That C1 has something to do with old information is supported by the fact that the subject constituent in C1 is more likely to be deleted, and modals such as *wis already*, *durung not yet* may co-occur with the verb (23).¹¹

(23) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Wis} \\ \text{Durung} \end{array} \right\}$ tak jupuk. I have $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{already} \\ \text{not yet} \end{array} \right\}$ taken it.

The co-occurrence of the modals with the zero verb (23) shows that the time described is anchored in the speaker, and thus the verb is not narrative. It is different from the time described by the verb in (21) where it refers to the time mentioned in the utterance. The verbal aspects which differ with respect to the contrast between (direct) deictic relation and (indirect) non-deictic relation to the speaker is perhaps a characteristic of languages like Indonesian and Javanese.

In conclusion, the contrast between the two Indonesian 'passives' distinguished by Chung (i.e. the canonical passive and the object preposing), is describable in terms of the syntactic contexts in which they occur. A construction like *dibelinya* (1)c occurs in a narrative context (indirect speech act), while a construction like *dia beli* (1)m occurs in a direct speech act (non-narrative context). The former is characterised by the first person and can be a discourse tool for foregrounding, whereas the latter is characterised by the third person (i.e. it may refer to the time mentioned in the discourse) and cannot be foregrounded.

The distinctions I have been trying to describe between a construction like *dia beli* and a construction like *dibelinya* is similar in some respects to the one between the English present perfect and past perfect, respectively. The present perfect is most frequently used in a direct speech act (it is deictically anchored in the speaker), whereas the past perfect is most frequently used to mark a sequence of past events, i.e. a narrative context (where the speaker, or the writer, is not the anchorage).

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NOTES

1. For the lack of any better term, I am using the term 'aspect' in a broader sense; I would rather use 'verbal force' or 'verbal act' instead, but they sound a bit strange. By 'verbal aspect' here I mean how the verb most frequently expresses the relationship of the speech participants. 'Aspects' should not thus be understood in the sense of how the verb is

marking the sequence of events, as it is generally used to refer to the description of verbs in Indo-European languages.

The term 'passive' used in this paper should not be understood in a strictly Indo-European sense. The difference between such constructions in a language like Indonesian and in Indo-European languages has been discussed elsewhere (Kaswanti Purwo 1982).

2. By her term *canonical passive* Chung refers to verbal *di-* constructions followed by third person as well as first and second person agentive. Verbal *di-* constructions in the Indonesian data under study only have third person as the agentive constituent. For an account on third person restriction on verbal *di-* constructions see Verhaar (1978) and Kaswanti Purwo (1982).
3. Construction (1)a *dibeli* is different syntactically from the other *di-* constructions (1)b-f in that it has no formative agentive constituent. Construction (1)a itself has three subtypes, as can be seen in (i) - (iii).
 - (i) Akhir-akhir ini sering diberitakan dalam surat kabar ibu kota bahwa [...]
 - (ii) Dan bunda mengambil daku dan diletakkan di pangkuannya.
(Pramoedya Ananta Toer 14)
 - (iii) a. Jangan diambil.
b. Tapi keinginanku untuk bertemu dengan ayah tak dapat ditahan-tahan lagi. Dan aku pun membantah bunda.
(Pramoedya Ananta Toer 36)
c. Sanip, kawan kami, luka di pahanya, dan darah di pahanya[...]
Jika Sanip ditinggalkan, kami khawatir dia akan dipaksa oleh pasukan Belanda menunjukkan tempat persembunyian kami. Apa yang mesti dilakukan? (Mochtar Lubis 102)

Provisional ratings by Gonda (1949:349ff.) show that agentless *di-* passives in older Malay are in the minority (quoted from Verhaar 1978:17). Gonda's further investigation shows that *di-* forms without an agent are used increasingly in modern Malay, as an equivalent of Indo-European impersonal passives (e.g. It is said etc.). While it is tempting to see that such *di-* forms are due to interference from languages such as Dutch or English, Verhaar noted that there are *di-* forms which are due to Javanese influence; they are imperatives semantically, and could never have an added agent. Here Verhaar is referring to constructions like (iii)a; such a construction he calls 'absolute' *di-* passives. Kaswanti Purwo (1982) refers to constructions like (iii)a-c as examples of deictic reversal; (iii)a is a reversal of third for second person, (iii)b,c are a reversal of third for first person. There is another constraint on agentless *di-* constructions like (iii)a: the subject constituent (whose role is objective) cannot be formative unless it is preceded by a pause (see (iv)); this formative constituent is to be considered as an 'afterthought' topic.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (iv) a. Jangan diambil // buku itu!
not DI-take // book that
Don't take the book! | b. Dinaikkan // bendera itu!
DI-lift // flag that
Raise the flag! |
|---|---|

If the subject constituent is foregrounded, instead of the *di-* verb, the zero verb is used (v):

- (v) a. Jangan ambil buku itu [ambil yang ini saja]!
Don't take that book [take this one]!
 b. Naikkan bendera itu!
Raise the/that flag!

While the *di-* construction in (iii) cannot have an agentive constituent added to it, and the *di-* construction in (i) can only have a generic noun (like *orang*) as its agentive constituent, the *di-* construction in (ii) is different in that it is anaphorically related to the preceding discourse; the other two are not. It is worth pursuing further whether there may be or may not be a constraint on the deletion of the anaphoric *-nya* in co-ordinative clauses like (ii) – since the deletion can either occur at the first mention (vi) or the second mention (vii) – but I haven't thoroughly investigated this issue yet.

- (vi) Bunda mengangkat daku, diayunkan, kemudian digendongnya.
 (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 41)
 (vii) Bunda mengusap airmataku dengan ujung kebaya. [...] Dikeluarkannya uang setengah sen dari lipatan amben dan diulurkan padaku. (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 15-16)
4. There is an interesting 'redundancy' in constructions (2) – (4): oleh + agent and pronominal agent. One possible explanation of this is to regard *-nya* as a pronominal copy (Kaswanti Purwo 1982). It is quite probable that the *di-+--nya* construction (which cannot be found in related languages having the verbal *di-* such as Sundanese, Javanese, Toba Batak) was being developed around the time of Classical Malay.

The phenomenon of 'redundancy' is more noticeable in (viii):

- (viii) Maka oleh Sang Bima, Sang Dursasana itu di-tekan-nya serta di-chekekkan-nya oleh Sang Bima. (HPL 138)

Givón's (1976) findings might shed light on the explanation of the 'redundancy' in (2) – (4); he has convincingly argued that the traditional view of grammatical agreement (between subject (or object) and the verb) as a redundant, predictable, automatic feature of languages is both unjustified and unfortunate.

5. Furthermore, while the third person plural pronoun cannot be found in *Hikayat Pandawa Lima*, it can be found in *Sedjarah Melaju* and *Hikajat Abdullah* (19th century). Even though *mereka* can be found in the Classical Malay texts of the 19th century, phrases like *dia orang semuanya* can still be found also (ix).

- (ix) Dan lagi katanja: "Nanti sedikit hari lagi banjak kawan-kawan sahaja mau datang. Dia orang semuanya nanti beladjar bahasa Melaju. (HA 126)

However, *mereka* cannot be found in verbal constructions like (1)f *dibeli* (oleh) *mereka* and (1)n *mereka* *beli*.

6. Beside the *dia* + zero verb construction, in Frederick de Houtman's Malay conversations text there are third person 'passives' like:

- (x) *di-+--+ dia*
 Itu lah Nachoda Gudjerat, jang baru datang dengan kapal dia, jang dibawa dia ngadap pada Radja. (Lombard ed. 1970:18)
 (xi) *di-+--+ agent*
 Ja. Sini datang orang seberu kita, di tangkap orang dan di suruh tebus. (Lombard ed. 1970:58)

- (xii) di+--+ (without an agent)
Kapal kita baru di buat tatkala beta dari sana.
(Lombard ed. 1970:152)

The construction di+--+ dia (like x)) is commonly heard in spoken Indonesian; some Indonesian linguists (among others, Amran Halim, personal communication) consider this construction to be non-standard Indonesian.

7. In marking the successivity of actions, di+--+nya is correlative (see Kaswanti Purwo 1982) to the preceding verb (which is the non-di- verb). Like -nya, which is anaphorically bound to the preceding NP, the di- verb is also dependent; it can never occur as the first in a line of successive actions (cf. Mees 1953:192ff.).

That the construction di+--+nya is semantically active is noted — among others — by Fokker (1951:69). Perhaps it is in this connection that di+--+nya is syntactically different from the other di- constructions. The di- constructions are more likely to have a subject constituent with a determiner (cf. Soenjono Dardjowidjojo 1978). A nominal without a determiner, however, is acceptable in di+--+nya constructions (xiii).

- (xiii) Babu itu melihat air yang berkilaian kena sinar api dapur.
Kemudian diambilnya abu, disiramkan pada air kencing dan [...]
(Pramoedya Ananta Toer 25)

Another characteristic of this kind of di+--+nya (there may be a di+--+nya which does not mark successivity of actions, but I haven't discovered it yet) is that the subject constituent is more likely to be either deleted or to have a fixed position, i.e. occur to the right of the verb. Verhaar (1978:18), however, noted that subjects of passives can have a fixed position only in imperative constructions.

8. The background and foreground terminology here is used in the sense of Pollack (1976:298), which I quoted from Hopper (1977). Pollack calls them *arrière-plan* and *premier-plan*, respectively. Becker (1979) refers to them as *ground* and *figure*, respectively.
9. The 'passive' (non-nasalised verbal) construction in Javanese is exemplified in (xiv), whereas the olèh + possessive pronoun + verb construction is exemplified in (xv); the stem jupuk means *to take*. (Javanese has more unaffixed verbs than Indonesian; among others is *tuku to buy*.)
- (xiv) 1st person: tak jupuk
2nd person: kok jupuk
3rd person: dijupuk (dhèwèké)
- (xv) 1st person: olèhku njupuk
2nd person: olèhmu njupuk
3rd person: olèhé njupuk
10. The older Javanese grammarians (like C.C. Berg 1937; H.N. Kiliaan 1919) describe the Javanese tak (or dak) as propositive, where they hypothesise that tak originated from the Malay word hendak. Unlike those grammarians Slametmuljana (1964:80-81) hypothesises that tak originated from the Champa word for first person pronoun dahlak.

tak, however, is not always propositive; it is propositive only in constructions (xvi) — (xviii); in constructions (xix) — where it is tak + zero verb — tak is not propositive. The verb in (xvi) is intransitive, whereas the verb in (xvii) — (xix) is transitive.

- (xvi) (aku) tak lunga *let it be that I go*
- (xvii) (aku) tak njupuk (dhéwé) *let it be that I take it (by myself)*
- (xviii) (*aku) tak jupuké *let it be that that be taken by me*
- (xix) (*aku) tak jupuk *be taken by me*

11. The opposition between old information (shared prior knowledge and experience of the speaker and hearer) and new information (no speaker — hearer shared knowledge) can also be seen in the difference between the determiner *-nya* and *itu* in Indonesian (see Kaswanti Purwo 1978).

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STRATEGIES OF THE DEFINITE/INDEFINITE PATIENT IN PASSIVE SENTENCES

Alice Cartier

G. INTRODUCTION

The rules of definiteness and indefiniteness, especially of the surface subject (patient) in passive sentences in Indonesian are still unclear. According to Chung (1975:62) the patient may be a definite or an indefinite noun, whereas according to Dardjowidjojo (1978:108) it is necessarily marked definite unless used generically. Thus, for the latter author, unmarked patients in the following active sentences (1a, 2a) such as *meja table*, *panci saucepan*, etc. — which are indefinite — must be changed into definite by adding *itu*, in the corresponding passive sentences (1b, 2b).

- (1)a. anak perempuan itu me-megang MEJA
the girl touched a table
- (1)b. MEJA $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-pegang oleh anak perempuan itu
the table is touched by that girl
- (2)a. orang itu me-nutup PANGKAL
that man covered a saucepan
- (2)b. panci $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-tutup oleh orang itu
that saucepan is covered by that man

The unmarked patient in the following sentence is generic:

- (3) PENJAHAT \emptyset harus¹ di-hukum
criminals have to be punished

The present paper is an attempt at casting a closer look into the matter in the hope of discovering some of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic conditions of the patient as a surface subject of passive sentences.

Contrary to Chung's interpretation of example (1b) (= Chung's example 9a) — considering the patient as accepting an indefinite — but in accordance with Dardjowidjojo's opinion, I claim that the patient of passive sentences can both be definite or indefinite when not a generic noun. We will see that different

strategies are used by these two kinds of surface subjects.² The reason why only passive sentences are taken into consideration³ is the fact that they seem to tolerate a wide list of nouns as patient.

I postulate not only markers but also the word order to be important devices to express definite or indefinite in both functions, subject or object, of the nouns in simple sentences. In languages such as Indonesian where the canonical word order is $N(P)_1 - V - N(P)_2$, the $N(P)_1$, at the left of the verb expresses definite whereas the $N(P)_2$, at the right of the verb, expresses 'normally' indefinite (cf. 1a-b, 2a-b). Thus, in Indonesian the subject normally denotes definite whereas the object is indefinite, even when these two $N(P)$'s (in their basic position) are unmarked. Notice, however, that the semantic properties of some lexical items (the lexical rule) can block the application of the word-order rule. Some object-nouns can refer to *things unique* (cf. Dardjowidjojo 1980:sections 3.2.2, 3.3.1): in this case they may denote definite even when they are unmarked. Compare the following examples (a) and (b).

- (4)a. dia tiap hari mem-bersihkan HALAMAN / DAPUR / JALANAN ϕ
 he every day meN-clean-CAUS yard kitchen street
every day he cleans the yard/kitchen/street
- (4)b. dia tiap hari mem-beli buku / surat kabar / daging ϕ
 he every day meN-buy book newspaper meat
every day he buys a book/newspaper/meat
- (5)a. dia mem-buka / me- nutup pintu / jendela ϕ
 he meN-open meN-close door window
he opens/closes the door/window
- (5)b. dia men-dapat hadiah ϕ
 he meN-obtain price
he obtained a/the price
- (6)a. dia ke- mati-an anak
 he KE-AN dead child
he lost a child
- (6)b. dia ke- mati-an ayah
 he KE-AN dead father
he lost his father

Definite nouns indicating e.g. *localities* (4a) governed by causative verbs implying 'cause to work' are not marked when they refer to *one and the same thing* in the natural world of both the speaker and the hearer. Other types of nouns in combination with other types of verbs can also refer to one and the same thing (5a).⁴ A noun such as *hadiah price* in the sentence (5b) is ambiguous: it can either be definite (if there is only one price) or indefinite (when some prices are available). Sometimes two nouns in combination with one and the same verb can be definite (6b) or indefinite (6a). The last three cases are examples of situations fixed by pragmatic conditions.⁵ Some nouns, whatever their function (subject or object), cannot appear unmarked: for instance nouns referring to *human beings* (terms of address and professional names excepted), to parts of the body or family relations (such as *isteri wife*, *putera son*, etc.) and many abstract nouns.

This paper will try to treat the word-order rule in detail but will only superficially touch the lexical rule. In the first section I shall deal with

the definite markers, in the second I shall discuss the unmarked definite subject, in the third the strategies of the indefinite subject and in the fourth the subject in relativised sentences.

We have seen that the problem of definiteness/indefiniteness (note 5) and of genericness (note 1) may also depend on the (matrix) verb. Since these types of verbs have not been listed it is not yet possible to take them into account systematically in this paper.

1. SOME DEFINITE MARKERS

Generally speaking the Indonesian language has at its disposal a set of definite markers for common nouns: demonstratives, two kinds of prefix (*si* and *ke* + numeral) and possessives (Soemarmo 1975, Dardjowidjojo 1980, McCune and Simin pp.71-100, this volume). Inasmuch as I am more interested in the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic conditions of marked and unmarked definite or indefinite subjects than in producing an exhaustive list of markers, I shall only present the most widely used markers: demonstratives and possessives.

1.1 Demonstratives

The two demonstrative particles *ini* *this* and *itu* *that, the*, are used as definite markers for animate and inanimate nouns (cf. 1b, 2b).

1.2 Possessives

As in other languages, in Indonesian a NP consisting of a noun plus a pronoun, a term of address or a proper noun expresses definite.

- (7)a. buku saya / ayah / Tuti di-pinjam oleh Toto
 book my father Tuti di-lend by Toto
 my/father's/Tuti's book is lent out to Toto

When the possessive consists of a common noun the demonstrative *ini* or *itu* is compulsory.

- (7)b. buku orang $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \phi \\ \text{itu} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-pinjam
 the book of the/that man is lent out

Parts of the body, inalienable nouns do not tolerate well demonstratives, but prefer possessives; thus *rambut/gigi/kepala-nya* *his hair/teeth/head* are more natural than *rambut/gigi/kepala itu* *that hair/tooth/head*.

The NP [noun + possessive] can be preceded by the complex [numeral + classifier]:

- (8)a. se- jilid buku saya di-hilang-kan
 one volume book my di-lose -CAUS
 a book of mine/one of my books is lost

In fact we have here a form wherein the preposition *dari*, located between the classifier and the noun is deleted.

- (8)b. se-jilid (dari) buku saya

In this case the definite noun expresses plural.

2. UNMARKED DEFINITE NOUNS

I shall treat cases in which the use of none of the above markers is required. I shall not take into consideration nouns denoting natural phenomena such as hujan *rain*, gerimis *drizzling*, etc. or celestial phenomena such as matahari *sun*, i.e. inherently definite, nor abstract nouns such as kekuasaan *authority*, kejahatan *criminality*, penyakit *illness*, etc., the unmarked forms of which express generic. I shall especially take into account countable nouns.

2.1 Unmodified nouns

I shall examine here some types of nouns which in their unmodified form can function as definite passive subject.

2.1.1 Nouns metaphorically denoting human personalities

Nouns such as majelis *council*, panitia *committee*, pemerintah *government*, perwakilan *delegation*, kabinet *cabinet*, penduduk *population*, etc. referring to collectivities and nouns referring to institutions such as universitas *university*, sekolah *school*, gereja *church*, keresidenan *residency*, etc. can be used in the metaphoric sense of personalities representing the institution denoted by the noun. Nouns of this type can be used as definite subject of passive (and of non-passive) sentences without the presence of a definite marker.

(9) majelis/panitia/ gereja di- $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{beritahu} \\ \text{lapori} \end{array}\right\}$ bahwa usul-nya di-terima

council committee church di $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{make known} \\ \text{report} \end{array}\right\}$ that proposal-his di-accept

the council/committee/church is informed/notified that their proposal is accepted

They are used when both the speaker and the hearer are concerned by one and the same collectivity or its representation.

2.1.2 Nouns referring to localities

(10) perpustakaan/kantor/ sekolah di-tutup/ perbesar
the library/ the office/ the school is closed/enlarged

This example can only be understood in a situation where both the speaker and the hearer have in mind one and the same library, office, school, etc. Other nouns liable to be used as definite passive subject when unmodified: pabrik *factory*, stasiun *station*, stadion *stadium*, museum *museum*, kedutaan *embassy*, kedewanan *residence of the district chief*, kementerian *ministry*, alun-alun *city-square*, perkuburan *cemetery*, etc. Some other nouns have to be modified or marked in order to function as definite passive subjects: for instance tempat *place*, kota *town*, desa *village*, lapangan *field*, square, park, etc. The exact reasons for this constraint are not very clear. But we could say intuitively, that contrary to nouns of the first type those of the second type convey a general meaning. Thus, one of the constraints seems to be the consequence of some semantic properties of the lexical items.

We may deduce that, in fact, two kinds of conditions have to be fulfilled in order to form a definite subject such as that of example (10): (i) semantic conditions which are determined by the lexical items (the lexical rule) and (ii) pragmatic conditions. Pragmatically, the passive subject must refer to a place unique in the world to both the speaker and the hearer. From the socio-linguistic point of view we may find nouns referring to *unique places* in the town or village where both the speaker and the hearer are living, but also to nouns referring to places which are unique to these two people only (or to the social group they belong to). This is one of the reasons why nouns which may refer to non-unique localities such as *kedai shop*, *restoran restaurant*, *halaman yard*, *teater cinema*, *apotik pharmacy*, etc. can appear as definite passive subjects without being marked.

2.1.3 Nouns referring to concrete objects and animals

Examples such as (1a) and (2a) may be correct when the definite character of the subject can be deduced from the context preceding the subject of the passive sentence.

- (11) Sampai di pinggir se-buah kali, andong berhenti. Karena tidak
arrive at side a-CLASSIF river carriage stop because NEG
 ada jembatan, KUDA ϕ di-tuntun oleh kusir
be bridge horse di-guide by coachman
(When we) arrived at the side of a river, the andong stopped.
Because there was no bridge the horse was guided by the coachman.
- (12) Kami ada se-orang pembantu. Sambil mem-batik, ibu me- nanyakan-
we have a-CLASSIF helper while meN-batik mother meN-ask
 nya apa SANTAN ϕ sudah di-siapkan, DAGING ϕ sudah
her whether santan-sauce already di-prepare meat already
 di-rebus, NASI ϕ sudah di-tanak, dan se-bagai-nya.
di-boil rice already di-boil etc.
We had a helper. While doing batikwork, mother asked her whether the
santan(-sauce) was prepared, the meat (and) the rice boiled, etc.
- (13) Tiba-tiba bergerimis. Ku-tutup jendela. Gerimis kadang-kadang
suddenly drizzle I- close window drizzling often
 di-selingi oleh tumpahan yang lebih keras. Kemudian reda
di-alternate by pouring RELAT more hard afterwards calm-down
 dengan tiba-tiba. JENDELA ϕ di-biarkan ter-tutup
with sudden window di-let ter-close
Suddenly it was drizzling. I closed the window. The drizzling was
often alternated by harder rain. Afterwards it calmed down suddenly.
(But I) let the window stay closed.

Example (11) describes a situation wherein the horse pulling the coach is compelled to change its action. Example (12) describes a household situation wherein the mother and her helper are implicated. We can deduce from the context that the presupposition is that the helper knows that she has to prepare a meal and how to prepare it. Example (13) describes what happened to the window before and after the change of weather.⁷

Only nouns denoting specific names of animals and concrete objects can be used in the way of the capitalised subjects of examples (11-13). Nouns denoting very general denomination of animals such as binatang *animal*, or of concrete objects such as barang *thing*, alat *instrument*, bahan *material*, etc. do not seem to be used as definite (passive) subjects without modifier or definite marker.

- (14) Kami semua men-coba me- menangkap ikan. Toto me- menangkap se- ekor.
we all meN-try meN-catch fish Toto meN-catch one-CLASSIF

Begitu sampai di rumah, IKAN \emptyset / BINATANG $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-masuki ke
so arrive at home fish animal that di-put inside at

dalam ember yang di-penuhi air
inside basin RELAT di-fill up water

All of us tried to catch (a) fish(es). Toto caught one. As soon as (he) arrived home, (he) put the fish/that animal in a basin filled up with water.

It seems to me, that only a noun already mentioned can be used unmarked; there is even a constraint against its synonym.

- (15) Ibu men-cari kaleng untuk kue-kue kering. Di lemari di
mother meN-look for tin-can for cakes dry in cupboard in
 dapur masih se-buah. BELIK $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ / KALENG \emptyset di-bersihkan
kitchen still one-CLASSIF tin-can that tin-can di-clean

baik-baik, lalu kue-kue kering di-masuki di-dalam-nya dengan rapi
well then cakes dry di-put in in-inside-it with neat
Mother looked for a tin-can for the biscuits. (There) was still one in the cupboard in the kitchen. (She) cleaned thoroughly the tin-can and put the biscuits neatly inside.

Thus, conversely, patients in passive sentences must be complemented by a demonstrative when instead of mentioning a noun appearing in a prior sentence (13), another noun is selected, that is a noun conveying a more general meaning (14) or a synonym (15). The pronoun -nya has to be used, when a noun referring to an object which is *part of another* object already mentioned. When one refers to the wheels of the coach instead of the horse -nya is compulsory. This is one of the reasons why -nya may be added to the underlined nouns in example (12). In this case, these three nouns have to be considered as elements of an above-mentioned dish. -nya could also be added to kuda *horse* (11) if, for the speaker, kuda is part of the andong *coach* (cf. S. Dardjowidjojo 1980 for more details). This is one of the reasons why parts of the body or family relations (i.e. inalienable nouns) and abstract nouns such as pikiran *idea*, opinion, hati *mind* are usually modified by -nya.

- (16) saya tidak me- ngenali lagi buyut, karena rambut $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \emptyset \\ -nya \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$
I not meN-recognise again great-grandfather because hair his
 tidak di-sisir dan gigi $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \emptyset \\ -nya \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ tidak di-gosok
not di-comb and tooth -his not di-brush
I did not recognise great-grandfather any more, because he did not comb his hair and did not brush his teeth.

- (17) Sulaiman biasanya pergi sendiri, tetapi hari ini isteri $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \phi \\ -nya \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$
Sulaiman usually go out alone but day this wife his
 di-bawa
 di-bring
Sulaiman used to go alone, but today he brought his wife.
- (18) Siti demikian bingung sehingga pikiran $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \phi \\ -nya \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ tidak di-kuasai lagi
Siti so confused that mind his not di-dominate again
Siti was so confused that she was not in control of her mind any more.

2.1.4 Contexts prior to the passive sentence

The noun used as an unmarked definite subject is tolerated only if it occurs in an earlier context under the following conditions.

(a) It must refer to a *specific* noun. When this noun is generic, the patient in the following sentence will also be generic.

- (19) Di Afrika segala berita di-beri-kan dengan genderang.
in Africa all information di-give-to by-means-of tom-tom
 Genderang di-buat dari balok yang di-beri lubang di
tom-tom di-make of beam (wooden) RELAT di-give hole in
 dalam-nya
inside it
In Africa all news is given by means of the tom-tom. A tom-tom is made out of a wooden beam which has a hole in it.

(b) It must refer to a singular noun. If we had for instance *beberapa several* or *tiga three*, etc. instead of *se a* (not *one*) in example (14, 15) (i.e. the second sentence) the following passive sentence (i.e. the third sentence) would not be correct.

(c) This noun can refer to a definite (13) but cannot be marked by *itu*. If, instead of *ku-tutup jendela I closed the window* (13), we had *ku-tutup jendela ITU I closed that window* and, instead of *me-nangkap ikan caught a fish* (14), we had *me-nangkap ikan ITU caught that fish*, the passive sentences in the two examples would be unacceptable.

2.2 Modified nouns

A NP consisting of a noun modified by another noun (or a nominal phrase) or by a verb (verbal phrase) can function as definite subject without being marked. We will see that common nouns conveying a general meaning such as *tempat place*, *negeri country*, etc. (cf. note 6) may also function as head. The NP's have two types of structures: they either immediately follow the head or are separated from it by the relativiser *yang which, who*. In this section NP's of the first type will be studied, whereas relativised NP's will be treated in section 4.

2.2.1 Head + modifier

Some nouns cannot occur without a modifier, for instance *angkatan generation*, *force*, *badan group*, *juru technician of*, *kepala head of*, etc.

- (20) juru $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{arsip} \\ \text{berita} \\ * \phi, * \text{itu} \end{array} \right\}$ / kepala $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{rombongan} \\ \text{kantor} \\ * \phi, * \text{itu} \end{array} \right\}$ di-kritik / di-puji
technician $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{archives} \\ \text{news} \end{array} \right\}$ / *head* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{group} \\ \text{office} \end{array} \right\}$ di-criticise di-praise
the $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{archivist} \\ \text{journalist} \end{array} \right\}$ / *the head of the* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{group} \\ \text{office} \end{array} \right\}$ *has been*
criticised/praised

(a) The more general the meaning of a noun the more often it occurs as the head of a NP, for instance *rupa form, appearance*, *suasana atmosphere, environment*, *tanda sign*, *upacara ceremony*, *daftar list, register*, etc.

(b) Some nouns in combination with their modifier (and a generic verb) denote a generic when the NP is not marked by *itu*, for instance *orang man*, *nilai value*, *appraisal*, *mutu quality, grade*, etc.

- (21)a. orang perempuan (di beberapa masyarakat) tidak di-hargai
person feminine in several society not di-value
women are not valued (in some societies)

- (21)b. orang perempuan ITU tidak di-hargai
person feminine that not di-value
that woman is not valued

(c) Some other nouns do not have this possibility (even when governed by a generic verb), for instance, *cara way, manner*, *ciri characteristic*, *pokok base, pusat centre*, *isi content*, etc. + a modifier. Whatever their function, subject or object, the modifier must be marked by a definite (unless contrasted to another modifier in, for instance, a disjunctive co-ordination).

- (22)a. isi buku $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{itu} \\ * \phi \end{array} \right\}$ / cara perkawinan $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mereka} \\ * \phi \end{array} \right\}$ di-hargai
content book the (that) way marriage their di-value, esteem
the content of the/that book / their way of marrying is esteemed

2.2.2 Compounds

Nouns denoting concrete objects such as *surat letter*, *mesin machine*, *meja table*, etc. may enter into composition with their modifier (noun, adjective or (un-) prefixed verb). They can be unmarked in their function as definite subjects of passive sentences (23a), but as definite objects they have sometimes to be marked (23b).

- (23)a. surat tercatat/ kawin/ undangan/ kabar (sudah) di-terima
letter registered marriage invitation news already di-receive
(we) received the registered letter/marriage certificate/
invitation/newspaper

- (23)b. dia (sudah) me-nerima surat tercatat KAMU/Kawin- NYA
he already meN-receive letter registered your marriage his
 undangan KAMU/kabar ITU
invitation your news that
he received your registered letter/his marriage certificate/your
invitation/that newspaper

In the following sentences, unmarked subjects are definite (24a) whereas unmarked objects are indefinite (24b) or ambiguous (24c).

- (24)a. mesin hitung/ tik di-gunakan/di-bersih-kan/ di-beli/
machine calculate/type di-use di-clean- CAUS di-buy
 di-sediakan oleh Parman
di-supply by Parman
the calculator/typewriter is used/cleaned/bought/supplied by Parman.
- (24)b. Parman mem-bersih-kan/mem-beli mesin hitung/tik
Parman cleans the calculator(s)/typewriter(s) / buys a calculator/
typewriter
- (24)c. Parman meng-gunakan / me-nyediakan mesin hitung/tik
Parman used/supplies a (the) calculator/typewriter

Thus, the lexical rule interferes at the object level, but not at the subject level.

The head of a compound can be a noun such as tempat *place*, rumah *house*, etc. which are generally marked in order to function as definite subject.

- (25) tempat $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \phi \\ \text{sampah} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-ganti / di-bersih-kan
place trash di-change di-clean- CAUS
the trash-can is changed/cleaned
- (26) rumah $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} ? \phi \\ \text{sakit} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-tutup / di-buka
house ill di-close di-open
the hospital is closed/opened

2.2.3 Proper names

The head and modifier may constitute together a proper name. The modifier is sometimes a proper name but the head is generally a common name which may belong to nouns needing a marker when denoting a definite subject. Proper names denote a definite without being marked.

- (27) pasar $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Glodok} \\ \text{Baru} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ / taman $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Indonesia Indah} \\ * \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ (tiap hari) di-bersihkan
*market $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Glodok} \\ \text{Baru} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ garden $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Indonesia Indah} \\ * \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ every day di-clean*
dua kali
two time
the $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{Glodok} \\ \text{New} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ market/the garden Beautiful Indonesia is cleaned
twice (a day)

2.3 Plural nominal nouns

The plural, expressed by means of reduplication, denotes a definite subject even when unmarked. The noun may refer to inanimate as well as animate.

- (28) botol-botol di-isi dengan minuman
bottles di-fill with drink
the bottles are filled with drinks
- (29) kursi-kursi di-naik-kan ke atas meja
chairs di-raise to on table
the chairs are put on the table
- (30) anak-anak/orang-orang di-kumpulkan ke dalam ruang baca/haruskan
children people di-gather to inside reading-room/oblige
 berdiri
stand up
the children/the people are gathered into the reading-room/obliged to stand up
- (31) burung-burung di-gusah dengan kipas
birds di-chase-away with fan
the birds are chased away with a fan

Some plural nouns – denoting small things and supposed to be used in some quantity – are usually not reduplicated.

- (32) (pada waktu udara cerah) KRUPUK / *KRUPUK-KRUPUK di-keringkan
at time weather clear shrimp chips di-dry
(when it was nice weather) (we) dried the shrimp chips
- (33) PERMEN / ? PERMEN-PERMEN di-bagi pada anak-anak
candies di-distribute to children
the candies are distributed to the children
- (34) (sebelum di-rebus) KENTANG / *KENTANG-KENTANG di-kupas
before di-boil potatoes di-peel
before they are boiled, the potatoes are peeled

3. INDEFINITE NOUNS

3.1 Quantifier + noun

The addition of a quantifier to the noun is compulsory. The quantifier – an indefinite numerative or a construction consisting of a numeral followed by a classifier – precedes the noun.

- (35) se-orang/ semua pencuri ter-tangkap
a (one) CLASSIF all thief ter-catch
a (one)/all thieves got arrested

The subject of this construction gives more precise information about the number (from one to all) belonging to a limited group already mentioned. Thus, example (35) could be preceded by a sentence such as: rumah kakak ke-datang-an BEBERAPA PENCURI *several thieves got into my brother's house.*

In this construction the subject can be made definite by the addition of *itu*. This happens when the number of things (animals/men) previously mentioned is equivalent to the number expressed by the subject. If the plural noun in the

prior context is either unmodified or modified by an indefinite numerative, then the passive subject modified by *se-tiap/tiap-tiap every* or *semua all* can be marked by *itu*.

- (36) rumah kakak ke-datang-an BEBERAPA pencuri. semua/*se-orang
house brother KE—AN come several thief all one-CLASSIF
 pencuri ITU ter-tangkap
thief that ter-arrest
Several thieves got into my brother's house. All of them (lit. all those thieves) got arrested.

The NP *se-orang pencuri itu* *this one thief* would only be correct if the indefinite classifier at the left (*se-orang*) occurs also in the prior context.⁹

3.2 Existential constructions

I call existential constructions those constructions which may assume the structure [Loc-V-N(P)]. In these constructions (i) the subject is moved to the right of the verb. (ii) A locative introduced by the preposition *di at* (-motion) or *dari from* is added at the left of the verb. (iii) The use of the quantifier is optional. Existential constructions give answers to 'where' and 'from where' questions. They are rarely accompanied by the agent. Since these sentences are locative-oriented, they cannot include any agentive verb (in the true sense of the term) such as the passive form of bi-transitive, causative or i-suffixed verbs. They can only have verbs indicating a state or 'appearance'.

- (37) di Balai Agung di-ada-kan (suatu) upacara
in institution great di-organise a ceremony
a ceremony takes place in the Town Hall
 (38) di-atas meja di-sediakan (se-piring) nasi, dan (beberapa piring)
at upon table di-prepare a (one) plate rice and several plate
sayuran
vegetables
a dish of rice and several dishes of vegetables are ready on the table
 (39) dari jauh ke-dengar-an/ter-dengar (beberapa) tembakan
from far KE—AN hear ter-hear several shot
several shots are heard (coming) from far away

There are in fact two types of constructions: examples (37, 38) are illustrations of the first type and example (39) of the second type.

3.2.1 Some constraints of Type I sentences

Only verbs indicating a state can function as predicate. Here are a few examples: *ter-bentang spread out*, *ter-baring lying*, *ter-bangun is rising*, *ter-simpan kept*, *ter-pegang held*, *ter-gantung hanging*, *ter-dapat available*, *ter-letak located, placed* (cf. also Tang Tjia-Han 1960:139). They admit a locative preposed by *di* but not by *dari*. Thus, the preposition *dari* cannot substitute *di* in examples (37, 38). The indefinite subject (referring to a concrete object) may appear without being modified by a quantifier.

- (40) di atas meja operasi ter-baring anak/ orang perempuan
at upon table operation ter-lie child person feminine
a child/a woman is lying on the operation table

Those referring to items conveying a general meaning (section 2.1.2) generally need to be modified or (and) quantified.

- (41) di atas papan tulis ter-tulis huruf $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Arab} \\ ? \phi \end{matrix} \right\}$ / $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{beberapa} \\ * \phi \end{matrix} \right\}$ kata
 at on board write ter-write letter Arab several word
on the black-board is (are) written (an) Arabic letter(s)/several words
- (42) di lapangan ini ter-letak $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{se-buah} \\ ? \phi \end{matrix} \right\}$ rumah
 at field this ter-lie a(one)-CLASSIF house
a house is located in this field
- (43) di muka-nya ter-bayang senyuman/rasa $\left\{ \begin{matrix} * \phi \\ \text{takut} \end{matrix} \right\}$
 at face-his(her) ter-shadow smile feeling afraid
on her face is floating a smile/(her) anxiety

This constraint is nullified in the plural. Thus, the examples (41) and (42) are well-formed if respectively the unmarked huruf, kata and rumah are reduplicated.

3.2.2 Some constraints of Type II sentences

Verbs denoting 'appearance' (of something or somebody) function as predicate in these sentences. Some are affixed by ter- or ke-(an) such as ke-lihat-an/ter-lihat *seen*, ke-dengar-an/ter-dengar *heard*; some other verbs are not passivised but are intransitive verbs such as keluar *go out*, muncul *appear*, timbul *arise*, *appear*, tampak *seen*, etc. They admit a locative complement preposed by dari or di at the left of the verb. The addition of a quantifier (or a modifier) is compulsory in the case of some nouns.

- (44) dari jauh ke-lihat-an $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{se-buah} \\ * \phi \end{matrix} \right\}$ rumah/desa/ bangunan/
 from far away KE-AN see one-CLASSIF house village construction
 gedung
 building
a house/village/construction/building is seen from far away
- (45) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{dari} \\ \text{di} \\ \text{from} \\ \text{at} \end{matrix} \right\}$ belakang ter-dengar jeritan/keluhan/suara $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{orang menangis} \\ * \phi \end{matrix} \right\}$
 behind ter-hear cry moan voice man cry
a cry/moan/somebody's crying is heard (coming) from behind

This lexical constraint is only limited to the singular, not the plural.

3.2.3 Indefinite subject in [S - V - loc]

The application of the word order [S - V - Loc] to the existential constructions involves the introduction of ada at the left of the subject. The predication of the subject by ada requires the relativisation of the sentence. Relativisation implies the following conditions: (i) The relative is at the right of the noun. (ii) The relativised noun in the embedded phrase is deleted. (iii) The marker of relativisation is yang.¹⁰ Thus, the following sentence (46a) becomes such as in (46b).

(46)a. pencuri ter-tangkap
 thief ter-catch

(46)b. ada pencuri ter-tangkap
 be thief ter-catch

Sentence (46b) has to be relativised:

(46)c. ada pencuri yang ϕ ter-tangkap
 (there) is a thief who got arrested

In this construction the quantifier is optional:

(46)d. ada (se-orang) pencuri yang ter-tangkap
 a(one)-CLASSIF

In this construction quantifiers such as semua/segala *all*, tiap-tiap *every*, *each*, cannot be added. This is because the subject in this construction contains *new information*: it is not mentioned before.

4. RELATIVISED CONSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this section is to show that the two constraints (word-order and lexical rules) apply also (i) to the dislocated subject in cleft sentences and (ii) to both subjects and objects modified by an embedded relative clause.

4.1 Dislocated subject

The dislocated subject is stressed because it is contrasted with another subject. Both the word-order and the lexical rules are not applied in the same way as in sections 2 and 3.

(a) The contrasted unmarked subject is a definite if it refers to a profession or a locality.

(47) maha¹siswa/pem¹bantu yang di-panggil, bukan juru¹tulis/¹buruh
 student helper RELAT di-call NEG clerk worker
 it is the student/the helper who is called, not the clerk/the worker

(48)a. perpustakaan yang di-tutup, bukan universitas
 library RELAT di-close NEG university
 it is the library which is closed, not the university

(48)b. gereja yang di-beritahu, bukan universitas
 church RELAT di-inform NEG university
 it is the church which is informed about (i.e. mentioned), not the university

(b) The unmarked subject refers to an indefinite, if it is a noun denoting an animate or a concrete object or a part of the body. In the first case the noun must be contracted with another species of animates or with a human being.

(49)a. setan/macan yang ter-tangkap, bukan gajah/ orang
 devil tiger RELAT ter-catch NEG elephant man
 it is a devil/a tiger which got caught, not an elephant/a man

- (49)b. orang dewasa yang di-cari, bukan anak
adult RELAT di-look for NEG child
it is an adult who is looked for, not a child

(c) When the unmarked subject denotes a family relation or an abstract noun such as *pikiran idea, opinion, hati mind*, the definite marker is required.

- (50)a. isteri-nya yang di-panggil, bukan anak-nya
wife his RELAT di-call not child his
it is his wife he called, not his child

- (50)b. pikiran-nya yang tidak di-kuasai, bukan
mind his RELAT NEG di-dominate not
it is his mind he did not control, not

(d) When the subject is an abstract noun, the absence of a definite marker presents a generic.

- (51) kelemahan yang di-cela, bukan kejahatan
weakness RELAT di-blame not criminality
it is weakness which is blamed not criminality

4.2 Embedded relativised clauses

The following examples show cases wherein the subject (example b) and the object (example a) are embedded relativised clauses. The word-order and lexical rules are applied to the object in the same conditions as in the case of the unmodified object (cf. section 0). This means that if the unmodified object expresses an indefinite, the object modified by a relative clause will also be indefinite. Correspondingly, the definiteness of an object will be preserved by the presence of a relative clausal modifier.

- (52)a. Siti me- ngambil (se-buah) rantang yang kosong
Siti meN-take a(one) CLASSIF pail RELAT empty
Siti is taking an empty rantang

- (53)a. Siti mem-buka pintu yang tadi di-tutup oleh Parman
Siti meN-open door RELAT just-now di-close by Parman
Siti opens the door which just now has been closed by Parman

The modified subject expresses a definite. The definite subject in the passivised sentences of (52a) and (53a) is unmarked.

- (52)b. rantang yang kosong di-ambil (oleh) Siti
pail RELAT empty di-take by Siti
the empty rantang is taken by Siti

- (53)b. pintu yang tadi di-tutup Parman di-buka (oleh) Siti
door RELAT just now di-close Parman di-open by Siti
the door closed by Parman just now is opened by Siti

The lexical rule does not interfere in the above examples, because the subject noun denotes a concrete object. In other cases, the subject noun prefers the presence of the definite marker *itu*, especially when the noun is a term of address or a professional denomination, an animate (human/animal) or a locality.

- (54) ayah/ buruh yang sedang bercukur $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-panggil makan
 father worker RELAT DURAT shave that di-call eat
father/the worker who is shaving is called for breakfast
- (55) orang (perempuan/asing)/anak yang ter-tangkap $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-lepaskan lagi
 man feminine foreign child RELAT ter-catch that di-free again
the man/woman/foreigner/child who got arrested is free once more
- (56) perpustakaan/hotel yang di-tutup $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ke-kurang-an tenaga
 library hotel RELAT di-close that KE-AN lack personnel
the library/hotel which is closed is lacking staff

When the subject noun denotes parts of the body, family relations or presents an abstract noun, it is followed by a possessive. However the presence of the definite marker *itu* at the right of the relative clause is still preferred.

- (57) bahu- nya yang sudah di-operasi $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ ¹¹ sekarang di-obati
 shoulder his RELAT already di-operate that now di-treated
the shoulder which has been operated on is now medically being treated medically
- (58) isteri-nya yang sedang masak $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ ? \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ di-panggil
 wife his RELAT PROGR cook that di-call
his wife who is cooking is called
- (59) kelemahan-nya yang dahulu di-cela $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{itu} \\ * \phi \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ sekarang di-puji
 weakness his RELAT formerly di-blame that now di-praise
his weakness which formerly was blamed is now praised

5. CONCLUSIONS

I hope to have shown the importance of both the word-order rule and the lexical rule to the realisation of the definite and the indefinite. We can draw the following conclusions: (i) The N(P) at the left of the verb expresses definite, (ii) at the right of the verb indefinite when unmarked (or accompanied by a numeral + classifier). (iii) The lexical rule can interfere and governs the constraints of the different types of nouns. (a) The definite marker is compulsory for nouns denoting parts of the body, family relations and some abstract nouns, but is optional to nouns denoting some localities or metaphorically human personalities. (iv) Certain pragmatic conditions can strengthen the word-order rule. These conditions enable some subject nouns — especially those referring to concrete objects and plural nouns — to occur unmarked at the left of the verb as definite nouns. (v) Many nouns require a modifier to appear as unmarked definite subjects. (vi) Pragmatics — helped by some syntactic and semantic conditions — can also violate the word-order rule: they enable the indefinite subject to take the position at the left of the verb. (vii) The presence of a relative clause modifies the lexical rule since the definite marker *itu* is required (or preferred), unless the head denotes a concrete object.

NOTES

1. The genericness of penjahat in example (3) is very probably due to the influence of harus which seems to be able to be used generically (cf. Chafe 1970, S. Dardjowidjojo 1980).
2. For instance in the following sentence-types:
 - (i) $N_{DEF} - ADJ$ gadis $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} itu \\ * \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ cantik
that girl is pretty
 - (ii) $N_{DEF} - V - N_{INDEF}$ pura $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} itu \\ * \emptyset \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ berhias ukiran $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \emptyset \\ * itu \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$
that temple is decorated with carvings
3. This paper will not deal with sentences such as buku, ku-beli *the book*, I bought (*it*) but only with di-, ter- or ke-(-an) verb sentences
4. The word-order rule is not applicable to topicalised objects such as celaan in the following sentence:

(akan) celaan, ibu tidak meng-indahkan-nya
as to criticism mother NEG meN-pay attention-it
critics, mother does not pay attention to them
5. The definiteness or indefiniteness of the object might be dictated by the verb, for instance in example (5a); cf. also section 2.1.3.
6. Some nouns denoting e.g. a location require a modifier: wilayah *territory*, negeri *country*, negara *state*, medan *field* (in, for instance, *battlefield*), gelanggang *arena, forum*, etc.
7. Thus, Chung's example (9a) (= our example 1b) in Chung (1975:62) is correct in the sense that its subject expresses definite.
8. In fact, *itu the* in the generic sense (cf. Dardjowidjojo 1980: section 3.2.1) may be added to genderang in the passive sentence.
9. Chung's example (9d) in Chung (1975:62): sepuluh dollar sudah dibayar kepada tukang rumput oleh saya *ten dollars were already paid to the gardener by me* is incorrect to me. This example necessarily expresses a definite, therefore *itu* has to be added. Such a sentence could be an answer to the question: apakah sepuluh dollar *itu* sudah dibayar? *are the ten dollars already paid?* These *ten dollars* contains old information; the quantity mentioned corresponds exactly to the quantity presupposed or referred to a prior mentioned NP. *Ten dollars* could refer to an indefinite in a cleft sentence such as sepuluh dollar yang sudah ku-bayar kepada tukang rumput *it was ten dollars I paid to the gardener*.
10. For the formation of relativisation cf. M. Butar-Butar (1976).
11. *itu* in these cases (examples (54-59)) seems to refer to the whole NP, but this hypothesis needs to be tested further, towards verification.

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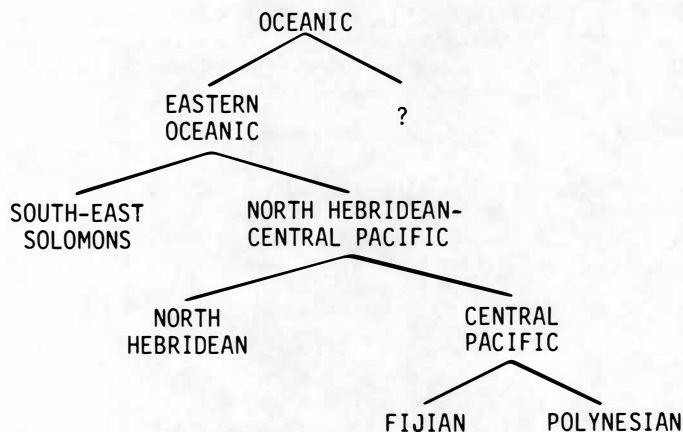
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DEVELOPMENT OF A PAAMESE TRANSITIVE SUFFIX

Terry Crowley

1. INTRODUCTION

The language which is the subject of this paper is called Paamese (in the absence of any indigenous name for either the language or its speakers). Paamese is spoken by about 4000 people, mostly living on the island of Paama in the Republic of Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides Condominium). The language is an Austronesian language of the Oceanic branch. Within Pawley's suggested Eastern Oceanic subgroup of the Oceanic branch, Paamese has been assigned to the North Hebridean subgroup, as illustrated in the diagram below (Pawley 1972):



Subgrouping below the level of Proto-North Hebridean is not yet clear, though Tryon (1976) has made some tentative suggestions based on lexicostatistics and phonological innovation. Pawley himself suggests a two-way split between North Hebridean-Banks on the one hand, and Central Hebridean on the other, though it is not absolutely clear from the criteria he uses to which subgroup Paamese should be assigned.

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2. OCEANIC TRANSITIVE MARKING

In the present paper, the intention is to describe a process of syntactic reanalysis that is currently taking place in Paamese at the clause structure level. The reanalysis that is taking place involves the development of a new derivational process whereby an intransitive clause can be made transitive. Before we go on to actually look at this change in Paamese, we will need to look at the transitive marking of other Oceanic languages, and its history in Paamese.

As is well known to all Oceanic specialists, one of the most characteristic features of Oceanic languages is the presence of two so-called transitive suffixes, derived from the Proto-Oceanic forms *-Ci and *-Caki(ni) in which the symbol C represents a thematic consonant. (Note that with a small number of verbs like *dogo *hear* and *kite *see*, the *-Ci suffix probably had a *-ø variant.) These suffixes marked different case or role relations between the verb and its direct object. Some verbs could select either suffix, while others were compatible with only one. The determining factors were probably semantic (Pawley 1973). This process probably does not need to be illustrated here; for examples, refer to Pawley (1973) or any general description of Oceanic syntactic typology or history.

Paamese, along with some other Oceanic languages of Melanesia, it would also appear, has lost the original *-Caki(ni) suffix altogether, and retains *-Ci in only a rather small number of residual forms. The result is that, in modern Paamese, there are about five attested transitive/intransitive pairs of verbs distinguished by the suffix -si, a further five distinguished by -ti, and a large number (possibly a couple of dozen) distinguished by the suffix -ni. Those intransitive verbs which have corresponding transitive forms in -ti are given below, with their transitive forms:

Intransitive	Transitive
tau <i>defecate</i>	tau-ti <i>defecate on</i>
siho <i>have diarrhoea</i>	siho-ti <i>defecate on with runny faeces</i>
sii <i>fart</i>	sii-ti <i>fart on</i>
kahi <i>make pudding</i>	kahi-ti <i>make into pudding</i>
luva <i>free, undone</i>	luva-ti <i>release, undo</i>

and those which have corresponding transitive forms in -si are:

Intransitive	Transitive
tangi <i>cry</i>	tangi-si <i>bewail, cry for</i>
hela <i>step</i>	hela-si <i>step on</i>
mea <i>urinate</i>	mea-si <i>urinate on</i>
hau <i>carry</i>	hau-si <i>carry</i>
ua <i>hit</i>	ua-si <i>hit</i>

Finally, some of those transitive/intransitive pairs distinguished by the presence or absence of -ni are presented:

Intransitive	Transitive
saki <i>do</i>	saki-ni <i>cause</i>
umo <i>work</i>	umo-ni <i>do</i>
saa <i>give</i>	saa-ni <i>give</i>
soo <i>throw</i>	soo-ni <i>throw</i>
tio <i>push</i>	tio-ni <i>push</i>
tivii <i>throw down</i>	tivii-ni <i>throw down</i>
hite <i>speak</i>	hite-ni <i>say</i>

(and a limited number of others).

It should also be noted that many of these intransitive roots have a very restricted distribution. Some only ever occur in reduplicated forms, e.g.

kahi-ahi *make pudding* hela-hela *step* mea-mea *urinate*

The root *luva free, undone* only ever occurs with the residual stative derivative prefix *ma-* to give the morphologically complex form *ma-luva*. Most of the remaining intransitive roots only occur in a particular kind of verbal adjunct construction, in which only the final root in the series of adjuncts makes a transitive/intransitive distinction, e.g.

- (1) Naso lāti.¹
 na-soo laati-e
 lsg.realis.throw outwards.3sg
 I threw it out.

Of the intransitive forms listed above, only *tau defecate*, *siho have diarrhoea*, *sii fart*, *tangi cry* and *umo work* are found in the normal syntactic slots occupied by any other intransitive verb. The overall effect of the restriction of the syntactic function of these intransitive verb roots is to make this syntactic process even less productive than it would appear to be from the forms given above.

(It should also be noted that there is a single transitive/intransitive pair that is possibly related by a morpheme that may be derived from an earlier *-Caki(ni), with the regular loss of *k in Paamese:

Intransitive	Transitive
usa <i>rain</i>	usa-ini <i>rain on.</i>)

The particular nature of the semantic relationship between an object and a transitive verb with *-si/-ti/-ni* is difficult to describe. As mentioned above there are only five pairs of verbs that can be semantically contrasted by being used in intransitive and transitive constructions. It would appear that in all cases, there has been considerable lexicalisation in the derived verb. So, compare for example the meanings of the following sentences:

- (2) Kai mutau en tirausis onen.
 kaie mutau eni tirausise one-ne
 3sg 3sg.realis.defecate spatial *shorts* possessive.3sg
 He defecated on his shorts.
- (3) Kai mutaut tirausis onen.
 kaie mutau-ti tirausise one-ne
 3sg 3sg.realis.defecate.trans *shorts* possessive.3sg
 He shat his shorts.

in which the first sentences suggests either deliberately defecating onto a pair of shorts, while the second explicitly expresses the idea that the actor accidentally defecated while wearing shorts. This verb, and the second verb in this class given above, is frequently used reflexively:

- (4) Konetautik!
 ko-ne-tau-ti-ko
 2sg.potential.defecate.trans.2sg
 Look out or you'll shit yourself!

A second example however, shows that this kind of relationship is not general for this class of verbs. Compare:

- (5) Kail adang.
 kaile a-dangi
 3pl 3pl.realis.cry
They are crying.
- (6) Sām dangis pistas.
 Saamu dangi-si pistase
 3sg.realis.cry.trans peanuts
Sam is crying for some peanuts.

where we have the transitive and intransitive forms of the form tangi cry, and a semantic relationship of a quite different kind.

3. OUTLINE OF PAAMESE CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The word order of Paamese is rigidly S-V-O (except that as in many Oceanic languages, any post-verbal noun phrase can be fronted to the left of the subject if a pronominal trace is left to mark the syntactic function of the unmarked fronted noun phrase). Noun phrase roles that are not expressed as subjects or objects are expressed mostly by means of prepositionally marked noun phrases following the object, or following the verb in the case of intransitive clauses. (Some syntactically peripheral roles are also expressed by constructions resembling possessive constructions, but they will not be further mentioned in the present paper.)

There are five prepositional forms in Paamese: eni, teni, rani, veni and mini. These mark nine distinct cases. The marking for each of these cases by the five prepositions depends on the semantic category of the noun phrase, as shown below:

	Human	Non-human
1. punctual dative	mini	mini
2. areal dative	veni	veni
3. causal	eni/veni	eni/veni
4. purposive	eni	veni
5. relative	teni	teni
6. ablative	rani	rani
7. spatial	eni	eni
8. referential	mini	eni
9. oblique	eni	eni

The semantic range covered by each of these cases is outlined below, with examples.

There are two morphologically distinct cases that we would want to call dative in that they express some kind of goal or physical effect upon an entity, these being the 'punctual' and 'areal' datives. The punctual dative differs from the areal dative in that while the former expresses an actual direct physical effect upon the goal, the latter expresses a more indirect, distant effect upon the goal, e.g.

- (7) Inau nesān retio onak mini.
 inau ne-saa-ni retioo ona-ku mini-e
 1sg 1sg.realis.give.trans radio possessive.1sg pun.dat.3sg
I gave him my radio (such that he took it and it became his).

- (8) Onom vilmemun nesāni ven
 ono-mo vilme-mune ne-saa-ni-e veni
 possessive.2sg *film.too* lsg.realis.give.trans.3sg ar.dat
 Rei Kalimo.
 Rei Kalimoo
 Ray Gallimore
I delivered your film to Ray Gallimore's too (though I didn't necessarily give it to him personally).

The causal indicates the cause or reason for which an event takes place, e.g.

- (9) Rovānian ven molatin kail.
 ro-va-ani-ani veni molatine kaile
 lpl.incl.immediate.eat.redup caus person pl
Let's eat in honour of these people.

The purposive expresses the general idea that the agent of an action is engaged in some motion towards a goal or indulges in the activity with the intention of doing something to that entity, e.g.

- (10) Kai mai enau.
 kaie mai eni-nau
 3sg 3sg.realis.come purposive.lsg
He came to (get) me.

The relative expresses something as a particular characteristic of some event or entity, e.g.

- (11) Kai vas ten sīsel.
 kaie vasu teni siisele
 3sg 3sg.realis.give birth relative road
She gave birth to the road (i.e. she gave birth to an illegitimate child).

The ablative case expresses basically the idea of motion or location away from an entity, e.g.

- (12) Eas dupas ran ahang.
 easu dupasu rani ahango
 smoke 3sg.realis.smoky ablative fire
The smoke is rising up from the fire.

The spatial case expresses a wide range of semantic roles relating to the spatial orientation of an entity. Most commonly, it expresses the location at which an event takes place, e.g.

- (13) Nadetengairil en atan.
 na-detengairilu eni atano
 lsg.realis.kneel spatial ground
I knelt on the ground.

Semantically, the referential case is rather limited, expressing the entity in mind when an action is performed, e.g.

- (14) Sai mum tetohoni min Morasi.
 Saie muumo tetohoni-e mini Morasii
 Sai 3sg.realis.do imitate.3sg ref Morasi
Sai did it in imitation of Morasi.

The oblique is a case with a very wide range of semantic functions about which very little generalisation can be made except that it often indicates the entity involved in an event either as a product or instrument essential to that event. It very commonly marks instrumental, as in:

- (15) Naduvon aman en ahis.
 na-duvo-nV amanu eni ahisu
 1sg.realis.shoot.common *bird* oblique *rifle*
 I shot the bird with a rifle.

Examples of other roles marked by the same case are:

- (16) Avise kail en meteisau.
 a-vise-e kaile eni meteisau
 3pl.realis.call.proper 3pl oblique *skilled man*
 They call themselves 'meteisau'.
- (17) Ateli evil en ara.
 ateli evile eni araa
 basket 3sg.realis.full oblique *lychee*
 The basket is full of lychees.
- (18) Tirausis onak mariso enik.
 tirausise ona-ku marisoo eni-ko
 shorts possessive.1sg 3sg.realis.big oblique.2sg
 My shorts are too big for you.

The identically marked oblique and spatial cases can be clearly distinguished syntactically. When the case-marked noun phrase is shifted or deleted by some syntactic process, and leaves an anaphoric trace, the nature of the trace that is left differs for oblique and spatial noun phrases. With oblique noun phrases, the trace is marked as a regular pronominal suffix attached to the preposition eni, e.g.

- (19) Alahin voiāus apar kati
 a lahi nV voiaau-se a-pare kati-e
 3pl.realis.carry.common *rope.only* 3pl.realis.tie *tightly.3sg*
 eni
 eni-e
 oblique.3sg
 They just took some rope and tied it up with it.

On the other hand, with spatial noun phrases, the trace left is in the form of the suffix -ene (with no pronominal marking), which attaches itself as a clitic to whatever constituent immediately precedes the shifted or deleted noun phrase, e.g.

- (20) Tōs onom paterik tovuelien.
 toose ono-mo paterike tovueli-ene
 torch possessive.2sg *battery* 3sg.realis.none.spatial
 As for your torch, there are no batteries in it.

Contrast the grammaticality of these sentences with the clear ungrammaticality of the following:

- (21) *Alahin voiāus apar katiēn.
 a-lahi-nV voiaau-se a-pare kati-e-ene
 3pl.realis.carry.common *rope.only* 3pl.realis.tie *tightly.3sg*
- (22) *Tōs onom paterik tovuel eni spatial
 toose ono-mo paterike tovueli eni-e
 torch possessive.2sg *battery* 3sg.realis.none spatial.3sg

The partitive is also obligatorily marked on verbs carrying the negative prefix *ro-*, e.g.

- (29) Asuv kai varoselūstei minik.
 asuvo kaie va-ro-seluusi-tei mini-ko
chief 3sg 3sg.immediate.negative.speak.part punctual dat.2sg
The chief would not like to speak to you.

This partitive suffix is a final order inflectional suffix, following the few derivational suffixes in Paamese verbal morphology (e.g. the residual transitive suffixes mentioned above), and also following inflectional pronominal object suffixes, e.g.

- (30) Inau naromutauttei tirausis.
 inau na-ro-mutau-ti-tei tirausise
 lsg lsg.realis.negative.defecate.trans.part shorts
I didn't shit my shorts.
- (31) Inau narolesikotei.
 inau na-ro-lesi-ko-tei
 lsg lsg.realis.negative.see.2sg.part
I didn't see you.

When sentences (25) and (26) are negated, and the verb is inflected with the partitive suffix *-tei*, we find that the form *-ni* attaches itself as a clitic to the *-tei*, and does not occupy the slot of a derivational suffix. Thus:

- (32) Narogulutei en atas.
 na-ro-gulu-tei eni atasi
 lsg.realis.negative.swim.part spatial sea
- (33) Narogulutein atas.
 na-ro-gulu-tei-ni atasi
 lsg.realis.negative.swim.part.spatial sea
I didn't swim in the sea.

Thus, while the affirmative sentences (25) and (26) appear to be structurally ambiguous between being analysed as intransitive with a cliticised preposition attached, and a transitive construction with an unmarked object, in the negative form, the intransitive structure is clearly revealed.

A second piece of evidence can be found in the behaviour of *-ni* when it is used to mark a spatial noun phrase. From the preceding discussion, it will be remembered that *eni/-ni* marks a wide range of cases, one of which is the spatial case. It will also be remembered that when a spatial noun phrase is referred to anaphorically, this is marked by the form *-ene*, which is attached as a clitic to the immediately preceding constituent. If we shift the noun phrase *atasi sea* in (25-26) to the sentence-initial topic slot, the correct form is:

- (34) Atas naguluen.
 atasi na-gulu-ene
 sea lsg.realis.swim.spatial
As for the sea, I swam in it.

The fact that the following sentence is ungrammatical:

- (35) *Atas naguluni.
 atasi na-gulu-ni-e
 sea lsg.realis.swim.-ni.3sg

indicates that *-ni* is clearly still being treated in (26) as a cliticised preposition, despite the superficial ambiguity between this construction and a transitive verb construction.

4.2 Reanalysis of -ni

The status of -ni as a cliticised form of the multifunctional case marker eni is currently undergoing reanalysis in Paamese. We have already seen that the productivity of the Proto-Oceanic clause-level process of promoting syntactically peripheral noun phrases to the syntactically nuclear slot of object has been lost with the loss of the *Ci- and *-Caki(ni) suffixes. One might, therefore, expect speakers to devise some kind of means for promoting a noun phrase into a position of syntactic prominence.

The ambiguity of such constructions in some environments, as we have already seen, provides an obvious possibility for reanalysis as a transitive construction. The preposition eni marks such a wide range of semantic functions (i.e. five separate cases), that it could not be reasonably argued that speakers are operating with a general semantic role here; rather, speakers presumably regard these various functions of eni as involving homonymy. The development of yet another function for -ni would therefore not destroy or radically alter any neat system, as the system was already apparently quite vague and asymmetrical.

Possibly another important motivation in this reanalysis is the fact that of the few examples of verbs with transitive markers still attested, most of these in fact use the marker -ni. Perhaps by reanalysing the clitic -ni as a derivational suffix, speakers are trying to reassert the full productivity of a morphological process they feel to be not quite dead, but still marginally productive.

Thus, reanalysis is taking place such that the cliticised preposition -ni merges functionally with the residual transitive suffix -ni. While it is not possible to decide from the surface form in the affirmative whether the cliticised -ni is functioning as an oblique case marker or as a suffix to promote non-patient noun phrases to the syntactically nuclear object slot, there can necessarily be no semantic contrast in the affirmative. In the negative however, the contrast is clear as the -ni will appear either in the derivational or clitic slots, and speakers do accept that there is a semantic contrast between transitive and intransitive forms. In the transitive form, the idea expressed is that the action of the predicate involves only the expressed object, e.g.

- | | | | | |
|------|------|---------------------|---------|-------|
| (36) | Kai | vange | en | vuas. |
| | kaie | vangee | eni | vuasi |
| | 3sg | 3sg.realis.pregnant | oblique | pig |

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|-------|
| (37) | Kai | vangēn | | vuas. |
| | kaie | vangee-ni | | vuasi |
| | 3sg | 3sg.realis.pregnant.oblique | | pig |
| | <i>She conceived a piglet.</i> | | | |

but:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|---|--|-------|
| (38) | Kai | rovangēdei | | vuas. |
| | kaie | ro-vangee-ni-tei | | vuasi |
| | 3sg | 3sg.realis.negative.trans.pregnant.part | | pig |
| | <i>She didn't conceive a piglet.</i> | | | |

- | | | | | |
|------|------|--------------------------|---------|-------|
| (39) | Kai | rovangētei | en | vuas. |
| | kaie | ro-vangee-tei | eni | vuasi |
| | 3sg | 3sg.realis.pregnant.part | oblique | pig |

- (40) Kai rovangētein vuas.
 kaie ro-vangee-tei-ni vuasi
 3sg 3sg.realis.pregnant.part.oblique pig
She didn't conceive a piglet (but she did conceive something else).

The contrast therefore seems to be that negation negates the entire proposition in a transitive clause, but only the object of the proposition in the intransitive clause.

While it is commonly the case that in Oceanic languages with a morphologically marked transitive/intransitive contrast, there is a difference in meaning relating to the definiteness of the object noun phrase, this is not the case in Paamese. Compare the difference in meaning between (38) and (39-40) for instance, with the difference between the Fijian forms below:

- (41) E gunu wai na gone.
 3sg drink water art child
The child drinks water.
- (42) E gunu-v-a na wai na gone.
 3sg drink.trans.3sg art water art child
The child drinks the water.

The use of -ni as a transitivity suffix promoting oblique noun phrases from the syntactically peripheral prepositional phrase slot to the syntactically nuclear object slot is widely accepted by speakers of Paamese, and there is a great deal of consistency in speakers' judgements of grammaticality and of semantic distinctions between transitive and intransitive pairs of sentences. Although eni and its clitic form -ni also mark other cases, speakers are much more hesitant about accepting noun phrases in these other cases when they are promoted to the object slot in the same way. Occasionally, speakers can be heard using forms such as:

- (43) Naroguludei atas.
 na-ro-gulu-ni-tei atas!
 1sg.realis.negative.swim.trans.part sea
I didn't swim in the sea.

but many speakers would regard this as a mistake and offer (32) and (33) as a correction, indicating that for them, the -ni is still only a cliticised preposition. There are no speakers who will accept sentences with objects promoted in this way from the prepositionally marked purposive, referential and causal cases. So, for instance, sentence (10) can be negated as:

- (44) Kai rōmaiteinau.
 kaie roo-mai-tei-ni-nau
 3sg 3sg.realis.negative.come.part.purposive.1sg
He didn't come to (get) me.

but never as:

- (45) *Kai rōmainautei.
 kaie roo-mai-ni-nau-tei
 3sg 3sg.realis.negative.come.trans.1sg.part

5. PARALLELS IN OTHER OCEANIC LANGUAGES

While most Oceanic languages have retained in a fairly intact form the original system of transitive suffixes, there is a number of Melanesian Oceanic languages which have apparently lost these suffixes. In this section, we will look at a small number of other such languages for which syntactic data is available, in which there has been some kind of syntactic reanalysis in some way paralleling the developments we have been looking at for Paamese.

5.1 Big Nambas

The language of the Big Nambas people of north Malekula in Vanuatu has been described in Fox (1979). Fox actually makes no reference to transitive suffixes of any kind in his grammar. This language would appear to have lost the Proto-Oceanic transitive suffixes in the same way as Paamese. It is impossible to say whether this indicates a close degree of relationship between Paamese and Big Nambas within the North Hebridean subgroup, as distinct from other North Hebridean languages such as Mota which have retained the original system, or whether the loss took place independently in the two languages.

In Big Nambas, there is a small number of prepositions marking the syntactically peripheral cases as in Paamese. The preposition with the widest range of semantic functions as a/an- (which may not be cognate with the Paamese preposition eni), marking as it does the locative, allative, instrumental and dative roles, e.g.

- (46) l-lak a nadep^{1,2}
 3sg.realis.sit on ground
 He sat on the ground.
- (47) l-tu su pua a lip¹ah.
 3sg.realis.give bone pig to dog
 He gave the pork bone to the dog.
- (48) l-rp-i a nai.
 3sg.realis.hit.3sg inst stick
 He hit him with a stick.
- (49) M-a-tu an-r.
 2sg.irrealis.give to.3pl
 Don't give it to them.

Fox nowhere speaks of any means of deriving transitive from intransitive verbs in his grammar. There is, however, one example attested in which there is a formally intransitive verb with a following a/an- phrase of the following type:

- (50) l-utakm an-i.
 3sg.realis.spoil ? 3sg
 He spoiled it.

in which the preposition appears to be marking a patient role, and not any of the roles mentioned above. This example almost exactly parallels the Paamese:

- (51) Garenì.
 gaare-ni-e
 3sg.realis.spoil.trans.3sg
 He spoiled it.

in which the -ni transitivises the intransitive root *kaare spoil, be inconsiderate, be rude*. We have no access to the evidence, however, by which the the Big Nambas an- in (50) is treated as a separate word rather than as a derivational suffix. However, it seems to be clear that it is developing new functions not specifically noted by Fox, i.e. the marking of patient noun phrases where there is an associated actor, but where the verb is formally intransitive. This clearly represents an earlier stage through which Paamese could have passed in its reanalysis of eni/-ni.

5.2 Lonwolwol

The Lonwolwol language is spoken on West Ambrym, and has been described by Paton (1971). (This grammar also suffers from certain deficiencies, particularly the fact that the transcription system that is used appears to be phonetic rather than phonemic. Consequently, for typographical convenience, the confusing array of vowels will be reduced to a five vowel system. While recognising that this is probably misleading, it would probably also be misleading in another sense to give the purely phonetic forms.)

The commonest preposition in Lonwolwol is ne/e (which appears to be not cognate with Paamese eni and Big Nambas a/an). The allomorph e occurs after words ending in l, while the allomorph ne occurs elsewhere. Paton (1971:83) describes ne/e as "the preposition of general reference", and it is used to mark the following functions:

(i) referential:

- (52) Te horo ne lesu.
 3sg speak about Jesus
 He spoke about Jesus.

(ii) relative:

- (53) duan bogon ne wilan
 custom all relative dancing
 all the customs to do with dancing
- (54) ral e halkuan
 word relative salvation
 the word of salvation

(iii) possessive:

- (55) vere ne er
 land possessive us
 our land

(iv) locative:

- (56) Nam du ne or Ambrim.
 1sg live locative place Ambrym
 I live on Ambrym.

(v) allative:

- (57) Te van ne or Olal.
 3sg go allative place Olal
 He went to Olal.

(vi) instrumental:

- (58) Te tatae tan ne benbenu.
 3sg hoe ground instrument hoe
He hoed the ground with a hoe.

(vii) passive agent:

- (59) Sise bogon temaen ne ngae.
thing all made by him
All things were made by him.

Apart from the extremely wide functional range of *ne/e* as a preposition, Paton (1971:85) also notes that it is used as a "means of which many intransitive verbs become transitive". In Lonwolwol, verbs are almost always either specifically transitive or intransitive. To change transitivity, *ne/e* is used as a suffix. For example:

Intransitive	Transitive
ie wake up	iene awaken
te look	tene look for
geh work	gehne build
naknak ready	naknakne prepare
gel do shopping	gele buy

(It should also be noted that a small number of verbs has a transitive suffix *-he*. The origin and significance of this is unclear, e.g.

Intransitive	Transitive
reng cry	renghe cry for, bewail
teba sweep	tebahe sweep
ta chop	tahe chop

A few others also take *-te*:

Intransitive	Transitive
ho arrive	hote arrive at
tangro come loose	tangrote loosen

It could be that these are related to the Paamese residual transitive markers *-si/-ti*, as *h* appears to correspond in Lonwolwol to Paamese *s* quite regularly, e.g.

Lonwolwol	Paamese
oh	ausa rain
tuh	tisi write
vih	ahisi banana
ha	asaa what
vih	ehise how many.)

The situation in Lonwolwol resembles very much that of Paamese. We have an 'unmarked' case-marking preposition being 'captured' by an intransitive verb to create a genuine transitivity suffix on the verb. The interesting point is that the developments in Lonwolwol and Paamese would appear to be independent, as the preposition that undergoes reanalysis in each case appears to be unrelated. If we add to this the possibility of a third independent case of the same kind of change in Big Nambas, then our interest is increased.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper began as an attempt to describe the changes taking place in modern Paamese, whereby a new transitive suffix is developing out of a preposition that followed an intransitive verb. A number of possibly independently occurring changes of a similar type can be seen in other languages, and we have looked at Big Nambas and Lonwolwol.

Is there any general significance that we can attach to these facts? Perhaps one interesting point to come out of the discussion is the indirect support it provides for the development postulated for the history of Proto-Oceanic clause-level grammar by Pawley and Reid (1979). They are trying to account for the reconstructed clause structure of Proto-Oceanic, and to reconcile this with the reconstructed Proto-Philippines type clause structure, to produce a plausible Proto-Austronesian structure out of which the two apparently different constructions could have naturally evolved.

For Proto-Austronesian, they propose the following structure:

(i) There were two prepositions, *i and *aken, marking the location and accessory cases respectively.

(ii) There were four 'passive' constructions, with the verb being marked by different affixes, and the subject being in one of a number of different semantic relationships to the verb, according to the particular nature of this affix.

Pawley and Reid suggest that in Proto-Oceanic, the following two innovations took place:

(i) The 'passive' constructions were lost altogether. The original passive morphemes are retained only as nominalising affixes (sometimes residually).

(ii) The prepositions *i and *aken were 'captured' by the verb as the suffixes *-Ci and *-Caki(ni) (with an associated shift in the morpheme boundary). This is quite plausible, they argue, given the verb and prepositional phrase order reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic.

What possible motivation could there have been for this syntactic reanalysis to take place? Not all languages, after all, have undergone these kinds of changes. Pawley and Reid themselves point out that in Toba Batak, these original prepositions have maintained a dual function as prepositions and as verbal suffixes. The essential features of those 'retaining' languages versus those which are 'reanalysing' are that the latter are precisely those in which the original passive options have been lost. The presence of a passive is clearly not a universal feature of human languages. Many Oceanic languages, for instance, have no such syntactic feature. However, one could argue, from the nature of the changes that are taking place in languages which have lost the passive, that there is some kind of structural pressure to create some kind of syntactic process whereby a syntactically peripheral noun phrase can be promoted to either the subject or object slot fairly freely. If a language loses this option, for whatever reason, then some kind of syntactic reanalysis can be expected to take place to fill the 'gap'.

The parallel between this series of developments and the developments in Paamese and Lonwolwol (and possibly Big Nambas) is fairly clear. What would be interesting is to see to what extent we can maintain these generalisations about the motivations for these syntactic reanalyses by comparing large numbers of languages.

NOTES

1. Paamese phonology is quite complex, with underlying forms that differ markedly from the surface forms. In the examples in this paper, we give the surface forms first in ordinary type, and the underlying forms are then given in capitals, directly beneath these forms. In the surface forms, the macron indicates vowel length, and the digraph ng represents a velar nasal.
2. The symbol p^l in Big Nambas represents the phonemically distinctive apicolabial stop.

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PRONOMINAL PREFIXES IN SAWAI, A BULIC LANGUAGE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Sawai is an Austronesian language with approximately 15,000 speakers in south-central Halmahera, Maluku Utara, Indonesia. Dialects of Sawai are spoken in coastal villages from Mafa in the south to Patani in the east, and include Weda, Kobe, Peplis, Lelilef, and Gemaf, to name some of the larger villages. In addition to its use on the coast, Sawai is one of the languages spoken in Lukolamo, about five kilometres up the Kobe River. Although virtually all the people in Lukolamo speak Sawai, they also speak Tobelo (possibly a non-Austronesian language) and almost half identify themselves as Tobelo people.

Indonesian is spoken by all the people in this area, and many have a good knowledge of Tobelo and Buli as well, and a few can also speak Tidorean, Makian, and even Ternatean.

The data on Sawai presented here were collected in Kobe between July 1978 and June 1979. Kobe is recognised by local people as the centre of the Sawai area and is thought to be the most conservative village in terms of language and culture.

The economy of the people of Kobe is based on small-scale horticulture and fishing. Sago is the staple, with cassava, sweet potatoes, corn, leafy and leguminous vegetables and fruit also important in the diet. Fish and shellfish are the major sources of protein, but wild pig and deer are also taken. The small-scale cash economy is dominated by copra production, but the cultivation of cloves and chocolate is becoming more common and they may even supplant copra as the major cash crop in the distant future.

Although Kobe is outside the mainstream of government modernisation efforts, the use of Indonesian in schools, churches, and administrative matters has already led to extensive borrowing in Sawai. While the vocabulary has been affected, however, the syntactic system of Sawai remains quite distinct. In fact, the Indonesian spoken in the area is noticeably influenced by Sawai sentence patterns and would be an interesting topic for future linguistic study.

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2. DESCRIPTION

There are seven pronouns in Sawai consisting of first, second, and third person singular and plural, with the first person plural split as in Indonesian between inclusive and exclusive forms. These pronouns and their glosses are provided below.

SINGULAR	PLURAL
ya I	ite we (inclusive)
au you	ame we (exclusive)
i he/she/it	meu you all
	si they

The occurrence of the above pronouns in various grammatical positions in Sawai sentences is common, but their use in the particular environment considered here is not obligatory. Omission of the pronoun itself in this situation is possible because of the existence of pronominal verbal prefixes. Unlike the pronouns themselves, the pronominal prefixes may not be omitted, as indicated in the following sentences:

- (1) (Ya) k - pak niwe pa.
I 1SG climb coconut NEGATIVE
I don't climb coconut trees.
- (2) (Au) m - pak niwe pa.
you 2SG climb coconut NEGATIVE
You don't climb coconut trees.
- (3) (I) n - pak niwe pa.
He/she/it 3SG climb coconut NEGATIVE
He/she/it doesn't climb coconut trees.
- (4) (Ite) t - pak niwe pa.
we (INCL) 1PL (INCL) climb coconut NEGATIVE
We (INCL) don't climb coconut trees.
- (5) (Ame) k - pak niwe pa.
We (EXCL) 1PL (EXCL) climb coconut NEGATIVE
We (EXCL) don't climb coconut trees.
- (6) (Meu) f - pak niwe pa.
you all 2PL climb coconut NEGATIVE
You all don't climb coconut trees.
- (7) (Si) r - pak niwe pa.
they 3PL climb coconut NEGATIVE
They don't climb coconut trees.

From the above it is seen that each optional pronoun is represented by a pronominal prefix regardless of whether the pronoun itself is included in the sentence. Further, each pronominal prefix is unique, with the exception of the first person singular and first person plural exclusive prefix k-.

With the addition of the sentences below it is seen that the pronominal prefixes may also represent the person of noun phrases (NP) other than pronouns in what is assumed to be the same environment.

- (8) Ai womo n - pun yao enje.
wood end 3SG hit dog that
The piece of wood hit the dog.

- (9) Ngenngan n- fa - gis ya.
 sun 3PL *cause burn I*
 The sun burned me.

Clearly, the pronominal prefixes identify or agree with the person of particular NPs in sentences 1-9 above regardless of whether or not they are actually pronouns. In so doing they indicate that the NP identified by the prefix stands in a unique relationship with the verb in that sentence. The third person singular pronominal prefix in sentence 9 indicates that it is the *sun* rather than *I* which stands in this relationship. Thus, the prefixes are not merely agreement particles, but are grammatical markers.

3. ANALYSIS

In sentences 1-9 NPs in a particular grammatical role are singled out by the pronominal verbal prefixes. In the English glosses these NPs are subjects, and it is reasonable to assume that their role in the corresponding Sawai sentences may be analogous, though not necessarily identical. In languages which are syntactically governed by a case system (e.g. the Indo-European languages) the subject of the sentence is identified through the cases for which the NPs are marked. This restricted, syntactic definition of the subject is not well suited for a description of the NPs under consideration in Sawai.

NPs in Sawai and in other Austronesian languages are not syntactically marked for membership in particular cases. If the term 'subject' is to be used then it must be with a greatly generalised syntactic definition, or it must be based on semantic considerations. The syntactic and semantic imprecision which may allow comparisons of 'subjects' in languages as different as Sawai and English makes it useless for an internal syntactic study such as this, so the term 'subject' will not be employed here in favour of its Austronesian analogue: the focal noun phrase.

Sawai, like other Austronesian languages, is syntactically describable in terms of what is commonly referred to as the Focus System. In this system NPs are grammatically marked as being either focal or non-focal regardless of any real or imagined semantic case membership, and the focused NP/verb pair is grammatically marked for one of a restricted number of semantic orientations by a verbal affix. Within this system the focal NP, regardless of the orientation of the NP/verb pair, is found in a somewhat similar environment to and may have a similar role as the subject in Indo-European languages.

Given the above, three assumptions might be made for the role of the pronominal prefixes in sentences 1-9. First, the pronominal prefixes might mark the focal NP through agreement in person; second, it might be suggested that the prefixes mark one of the foci of Sawai sentences; or third, they might mark a particular class of NPs (such as the actor or agent) regardless of the focus.

The latter suggestion is untenable as will be seen through an examination of the sample sentences below, but it is also very unlikely on the basis of comparative information from other focus languages. It will be remembered that there are commonly four types of focal relationships expressed in Austronesian languages: Actor Focus (AF), in which the focus of the NP/verb pair is oriented toward an actor/action relationship; Goal Focus (GF), in which the orientation is goal, object, or patient/action; Instrument Focus (IF), in which the orientation is instrument, cause, or reason/action; and Referent Focus (RF), in which the orientation is temporal or spatial specificity/action. Importantly,

in a focus language the non-focal NPs are not grammatically marked for any of these roles, but are only marked as being non-focal. Hence, marking a NP the same regardless of whether it is focal or non-focal, as was suggested above, is not consistent with the governing syntactic system.

The suggestion that the pronominal prefixes mark a particular focus is also unsupported, as is shown below through the consideration of sentences with a different focus to that of 1-9.

- (10) Ngenngan n- fa - m - gis ya.
 sun 3SG CAUS GF burn I
 The sun burned me.

- (11) Ya k - m - gis o ngenngan.
 I 1SG GF burn ~~A~~ sun
 I was burned by the sun.

Sentence 1-9 are in Actor Focus, while sentences 10 and 11 are in Goal Focus; that is, the verb has been marked in the latter (by the -m- infix) to show that the orientation of the focal NP/verb pair is on their object, patient, or goal/action relationship. Regardless of the shift in focus, though, the pronominal prefix consistently marks the focal NP. Note that the non-focal NP in sentence 11, logically a non-focal actor, is grammatically marked by the particle o.

In sentence 11 the Goal Focus orientation is obvious because of the ability to gloss the sentence accurately in English. In sentence 10, on the other hand, the English gloss makes *sun* appear to be an actor (semantically) as it does in 9 where it is marked as an actor syntactically. The meanings of sentences 9 and 10 are in fact quite different as the grammatical markers indicate. While in 9 the meaning is accurately reflected in the gloss, in 10 it is the *sun's* being made to burn which is in focus, the actor (if conceptually necessary) is unspecified, and *I* was merely affected by the event. As an aside, this is quite a popular construction in Sawai for describing many accidental events, as a comparison of 12 and 13 will indicate.

- (12) Au m - fa - gis fcs.
 you 2SG CAUS burn rice
 You burned the rice.
- (13) Au m - fa - m - gis fcs.
 you 2SG CAUS GF burn rice
 You burned the rice.

Sentence 12 is a clear statement of who caused the rice to be burned. It is in Actor Focus and *you* are identified by the pronominal prefix as the actor. Because of its bluntness sentence 12 would not normally be used in conversation, instead sentence 13 would be chosen to express the event. 13 is in Goal Focus, with *you* the object, patient, or goal so that the connotation of the sentence is that you were made to burn the rice by circumstances beyond your control. In the latter sentence, you are in a sense quite blameless and unspecified circumstances may be considered the 'actor'.

To return to the original question of what is marked by the pronominal prefixes, it is obvious from AF sentences 1-9 and 12, and GF sentences 10, 11, and 13 that it is the focal NP which is indicated by the pronominal prefix regardless of the focus. The focus of the sentence is indicated by another set of verbal affixes, Ø marking AF and the -m- infix marking GF.

4. CONCLUSION

This brief look at the pronominal prefixes in Sawai is not intended to be an in-depth study of the Sawai syntactic system, but rather an initial examination of the system through one of its parts. Although limited in scope, these superficial observations allow a glimpse of several interesting facets of the focus system in Sawai.

For example, an examination of the sentences presented here reveals that the focal NP in Sawai is commonly the initial NP in the sentence. This seems to be true of the language as a whole although preposing non-focal NPs is allowed in order to emphasise them. This is quite unlike many focal languages, in which the word order is relatively free, but the reasons for this apparent rigidity are as yet unknown.

A second interesting point is that non-focal actors are seldom expressed in Sawai sentences. Examples such as 11 are quite rare, and when they do occur the non-focal actor is consistently marked with the particle *o* (hence its gloss). Because of this absence it first appeared that Sawai contained only 'active' sentences. With further study, however, and an understanding of the implications of constructions like 9-10, and 12-13, it is apparent that as in the case of Indonesian an active/passive syntactic dichotomy is not sufficient for the description of Sawai sentences. There are clearly too many alternatives for such a generalisation to be particularly meaningful.

In conclusion, the syntactic organisation of Sawai can be economically described through use of the Focus System framework which has been developed for other Austronesian languages. Within the framework of this system a set of grammatical particles indicating the focal and non-focal NPs is expected as well as a set of verbal affixes to indicate the particular focus. In Sawai it has been shown that the pronominal prefixes undoubtedly mark the focal NPs while the non-focal NPs may be shown in other studies to be marked quite differently. In addition, although the four-focus system common to many Austronesian languages has not been described in Sawai, two foci (AF and GF) have been discussed and the remaining ones will be presented in more complete syntactic studies. Through this work, and future ones on little-known but important groups of Austronesian languages, it is hoped that investigators will soon be able to approach the construction of a syntactic model of Austronesian languages as a whole.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN 17TH CENTURY MALAY MANUSCRIPTS AND BAHASA INDONESIA

Sri Wulan Rujiati Mulyadi

PREFACE

Indonesian has always been called a democratic language. It does not have any special forms to indicate linguistic levels as those in Javanese.

Is this democratic attitude in our present-day Indonesian also shown in Malay classical literature, especially in its manuscripts? Research carried out on several manuscripts shows that Malay literature does not have this democratic attitude. This fact can be understood if we bear in mind that Malay literature was a product of a period when feudalism was still powerful.

Similarly, some of our present-day vocabulary, e.g. nouns, personal pronouns, adjectives and verbs, reflects this social hierarchy of former times. This paper will restrict itself to an examination of personal pronouns found in a number of manuscripts.

The manuscripts chosen for my research on the personal pronouns are 17th century manuscripts, i.e. the *Hikayat Sri Rama* [The story of Sri Rama] (AI: see Achadiati Ikram 1978), the *Hikayat Indraputra* [The story of Indraputra] (RM: see Rujiati Mulyadi 1980), the *Sejarah Melayu* [The Malay annals] (S&T: see Situmorang and Teeuw 1952) and the *Bustan as-Salatin* [The garden of kings] (G: see Grinter 1979; I: see Iskandar 1966 and J: see Jones 1974).¹

Out of the 23 manuscripts extant on the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, MS Laud Or. 291, preserved in the Oxford Bodleian Library, is one of the oldest manuscripts, dated 1633 (Achadiati Ikram 1980). Out of the 30 manuscripts extant on the *Hikayat Indraputra*, HS 124, one of the manuscripts preserved in the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (The Royal Institute for Language and Anthropology), Leiden, is dated 1700 (Rujiati Mulyadi 1980). Besides the data collected from these two groups of manuscripts, additional data are drawn from the *Sejarah Melayu*, edited by Situmorang and Teeuw (1952), and from Sutadi's thesis (1969). The *Sejarah Melayu* edited by Situmorang and Teeuw is based on the one issued by Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munshi in Jawi script in Singapore in 1831. Bearing in mind that this is based on 'history', we might assume that Abdullah's edition does not deviate too much from the adaptation done by the Bendahara Paduka Raja, known as Tun Sri Lanang, in 1612. Data from the *Bustan as-Salatin* are collected from Grinter's dissertation (1979) and the editions of

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.4: *Thematic variation*, 291-302. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-77, 1983.

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Iskandar (1966) and Jones (1974). The *Bustan as-Salatin*, consisting of seven chapters, contains many stories which can be used as models for kings. None of the manuscripts extant originates from the 17th century. However, I think the data on personal pronouns found in the editions of Grinter, Iskandar and Jones do not deviate too much from those found in the manuscripts of Nuruddin ar-Raniri. It is thought that ar-Raniri started to write this great work during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh (1637-1641).

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Books on Indonesian grammar show that the Indonesian personal pronouns are divided on the basis of the following pattern: (a) first person singular and plural, (b) second person singular and plural and (c) third person singular and plural.

Personal pronouns for the first person are words used to refer to the speaker. Personal pronouns for the second person refer to the one(s) we are speaking to and personal pronouns for the third person refer to the one(s) we are speaking about. The choice of words used for the first, second and third persons, either singular or plural, depends on the social status, age, intimacy and the number of speakers on each side.

Personal pronouns for the first person

Aku and saya are usually listed as personal pronouns for the first person singular in the books on grammar. The plural forms are kita and kami. In addition, there are a number of words referring to the first person which are usually mentioned as pseudo personal pronouns (kata ganti semu or kata ganti yang tak sebenarnya).

Investigation shows that, apart from aku and saya, there are many other words which function as personal pronouns for the first person in our classical literature. In this paper the investigation is restricted to the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, the *Hikayat Indraputra*, the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin*.

In Table 1, I have listed words referring to the first person found in the four works already mentioned.

Table 1													
SINGULAR ²	HSR	HI	SM	BSG	BSI	BSJ	PLURAL	HSR	HI	SM	BSG	BSI	BSJ
aku	+ ⁴	+	+	+	+	+	kami	+	+	+	+	+	+
beta	+	+	+	+	+	+	kami sekalian	+	+	+	+	+	+
diri	.	.	.	+	.	.	kita	+	+	+	+	+	.
fakir	.	.	+	+	.	.	kita kedua	+	+	.	.	.	.
hamba ⁶	+	+	+	+	+	+	kita sekalian	.	+	+	.	.	.
kita	.	.	+	.	.	.	patik sekalian	+	.	+	.	.	.
kula	.	.	+	.	.	.	patik semua	.	+	.	.	.	.
patik	+	+	+	.	.	.	sida sekalian	+	.	.	.	.	.
menira	.	.	+	.	.	.							
sahaya	.	.	+	.	.	.							
sida	+	.	.	.	.	.		

Before I start to discuss personal pronouns for the second person, I would like to draw attention to several words⁵ in Table 1.

Aku is frequently used in our manuscripts. On the other hand, sahaya — which in Indonesian becomes saya — is only found in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

Aku and beta are used when the speaker considers himself equal to the counterpart. These words are also used when emotion is involved in the conversation. For instance, on occasions when people are very nice to others, with each other, and when the speaker wants to arouse pity.

Setelah raja menengar khabar itu raja pun amarah lalu bertitah, "Jika aku tiada menyerang Negeri Biruhasyapurwa, bukan aku laki-laki dan bukan aku anak Bramaraja." (AI:116)
When the king heard that news, he got angry and said "If I don't attack the country of Biruhasyapurwa, I am not a man and I am not the son of Bramaraja."

Hai nenekku, akulah yang bernama Indraputra... sebab aku datang kemari karena aku diterbangkan merak emas... (RM:261)
Hi granny! I am the one who is called Indraputra... the reason why I am here is that I have been flown by the golden peacock...

Bukannya Sagusadana, beta kera... Apatah daya beta karena tiada diajar ibu hamba memanjat. (AI:216)
I am not Sagusadana, I am an ape... What can I do since I was not taught to climb by my mother.

Baharulah sekarang beta bertemu dengan orang mencuri! (RM:531)
It is only now that I find a woman who steals!

The word diri for the first person is always followed by hamba or -ku.

TuanKu, apabila hamba menyebut nama Allah taala, maka lupalah hamba akan diri hamba. (G:104)
My lord, if I mention the name of God the Almighty, I sure will forget myself.

The word fakir, used to refer to oneself both by the adaptor and the writer, is found only in the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin*.

Setelah itu maka dimulai fakirlah hikayat setengah daripada segala raja-raja yang bertapa... (G:87)
Thereafter I start the story which is also dealing with kings who live ascetic lives...

Setelah fakir menengar demikian jadi beratlah atas anggota fakir... (S&T:1)
Having heard that, my hands and legs became stuck...

The word hamba in its derived forms — as seen from the meaning of this word — generally places the speaker in a lower position than the one he is speaking to.

Maka sembah Rawana, "Jikalau hamba kerajaan demikian dianugrahakan Allah subhanahu wa taala, maka hamba perbuat segala perbuatan yang salah... dibinasakan Allah pulang hamba dengan seribu kutuk." (AI:102)
Rawana said, "If God The Almighty presented me with such a kingdom and I had done bad deeds... God could destroy and punish me with a thousand curses..."

Maka ... orang yang memalu bende itu pun datang kepada menteri itu mengatakan, "Sudah kurang esa empat puluh hari hamba memalu bende ..." (RM:266)

The man who strikes the gong came to see the minister and said, "I have been striking the gong for almost forty days ..."

In some cases, however, it is not unusual to find the word hamba used by a speaker who is higher in social status or older in age.

Maka sahut Balikasya, "Hai cucuku raja di keinderaan, sanya engkau cahaya matak, akan bapamu buah hatiku.

Apa kehendak ayahanda jikalau negeri hamba ini pun dikehendaki oleh Maharaja Rawana, sekarang hamba persembahkan dengan segala bala tentaranya." (AI:132)

Balikasya answered, "Hi my grandson in the land of indras, you really are the light of my eyes, your father is the song of my heart. What should I do, if this country is also be asked for by King Rawana; I will give it to him with the whole army."

Maka segala menteri itu pun datang berhimpun kepada perdana menteri musyawarat ... Maka ujar perdana menteri, "Ada hamba mendengar daripada nenek moyang hamba tatkala itu hamba lagi kecil ..." (RM:266)

All the ministers came together with the prime minister for a meeting ... The prime minister said, "I had heard from my ancestors when I was a child ..."

The word kita is used either in singular or in plural form. As the word hamba, kita can be used to lower the status of the speaker towards the one(s) he/she is speaking to. Besides, the word kita is also used by those who are higher, either in social status or age, towards those who are lower.

Surat dari bawah cerpu raja ... bahwa kita dengar Raja Malaka raja besar, sebab itulah maka kita hendak bersahabat dan berkasih-kasihan dengan Raja Malaka ... (S&T:138)

The letter of His Highness ... as we hear that the King of Malaka is a great king, that is why we want to become friends and love the King of Malaka ...

Maka titah Sultan Alauddin, "Ketahui olehmu tuan-tuan sekalian ... jikalau kita mati ... si Muhammad inilah rajakan oleh bendahara akan ganti kita ..." (S&T:203)

King Alauddin said, "Let this be known by all of you ... if I die ... crown him by the bendahara to replace me as king ..."

Unlike hamba and kita — which have two possibilities in their usage — patik always places the speaker lower than the one he is addressing.

Bermula maka dayang-dayang itu pun ... berdatang sembah, "Ya tuanku, tiada ia mau kembali patik panggil abantara itu." (RM:320)

First the maidens came ... and said, "My lord, that abantara does not want to return, (although) I have asked him to do so."

Maka sembah laksamana pada Sultan Pahang, "Sungguh patik itu membunuh saudara sepupu Sri Akar Raja, tetapi tiada patik beri dipengapa-ngapa..." (S&T:199)
The commander said to the King of Pahang, "I really did kill my nephew, Sri Akar Raja, but I did not let people do anything more to him..."

The same as patik, the words kula, menira, sahaya, and sida or sinda are used to make the speaker lower in status towards the addressee(s). The words kula, menira and sahaya are found only in the *Sejarah Melayu* whereas the word sida is found only in the *Hikayat Sri Rama*.

Setelah Sang Aji Jayaningrat menjadi Betara Majapahit itu, maka si penyadap itu pun masuk menghadap, maka sembahnya, "Manatah janji Paduka Betara dengan kula ..." (S&T:124)

After Sang Aji Jayaningrat became King of Majapahit, the tapper came in to see him and said, "Why don't you keep your promise to me..."

Maka sahut ki mas Jiwa, "Baiklah, jikalau menira jadi ratu." (S&T:121)

Ki mas Jiwa answered, "All right, if you were a king."

Setelah dilihat oleh tuannya, maka kata tuannya, "Siapa menebang pehumaan kita ini, maka sangat amat suci?"

Maka kata Badang, "Sahaya menebang dia." (S&T:50)
Having been seen by his master, the master then said, "Who has cut down (the trees in) my very holy field?"
Badang answered, "I have done it."

Maka sembah Sardula... "Yang mana titah Sri Maharaja sida sekalian junjung karena nyawa sida sekalian ini sida persembahkan ..." (AI:113)
Sardula answered, "Whatever Your Highness commands us to do, we will obey, since we offer our souls to you..."

Maka sahut Laksamana, "Mana bicara yang dipertuan, sinda sertalah ... tiada mau sinda bertuan lain daripada yang dipertuan." (AI:158)

Laksamana answered, "Whatever you say, I will obey... I don't want to have anybody else as a master but you."

It is already mentioned that kita, as found in the *Sejarah Melayu*, can also be used in the plural sense and often followed by a reference to the number of people, e.g. kita kedua, kita semua and kita sekalian.

In the same way, kami often becomes kami sekalian. That may also happen to other words such as patik and sida which become patik sekalian, patik semua and sida sekalian.

Kami in old manuscripts is always used in the plural sense as in the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, the *Hikayat Indraputra*, the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin*. In this case it is different from kita which can also be used in the singular form.

Personal pronouns for the second person

There are many words in classical manuscripts which are used to refer to the second person. Engkau, kamu and kamu sekalian are usually mentioned in our books on grammar. Other words are usually classified as pseudo personal pronouns (kata ganti semu or kata ganti orang tak sebenarnya).

In all the four groups of manuscripts (the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, the *Hikayat Indraputra*, the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin*), words⁷ which could be classified as personal pronouns for the second person⁸ are as follow.

Table 2 ¹⁰													
SINGUL R	HSR	HI	SM	BSG	BSI	BSJ	PLUR L	HSR	HI	SM	BSG	BSI	BSJ
encik	.	.	+	.	.	.	kamu kedua	.	+	.	.	.	.
engkau	+	+	+	+	+	+	kamu sekalian	.	+	+	+	+	.
diri	.	+	.	+	.	+	kamu semua	.	.	+	.	.	.
kamu	+	+	+	+	+	+	kita	.	.	+	.	.	.
tuan ⁹	.	+	+	+	+	+							
sampean	.	.	+	.	.	.							

Encik and sampean appear only in the *Sejarah Melayu*. Encik is used by two speakers of a similar social status, whereas sampean is used by someone lower in status or in age towards someone more superior.

Maka orang Haru pun dekatlah; maka kata Tung Isap, "Orang kaya, marilah kita mengamuk!" Maka kata Sri Bija Diraja, "Sabar dahulu encik, belum ketikanya." (S&T:192)
So the people of Haru are approaching; Tung Isap said, "My lord, let us run amok." Sri Bija Diraja answered, "Have patience (you), the time hasn't come yet."

Maka sembah Pau Gema, "Mana titah tiada patik lalui; jikalau patik tiada mati, segera juga patik menghadap sampean andika betara." (S&T:175)

Pau Gema said, "I will carry out whatever you command me. If I do not die, I will immediately see Your Royal Highness."

Engkau and kamu are used in a conversation between two people equal, or considered equal, in social status and between two speakers of whom one is higher in social status than the other.

Maka sabda hadarat yang mahamulia kepada kejuruan pandai emas dan kejuruan pandai suasa, "Kamu salup raja nisyan itu dengan emas bepermata...!" (I:61)
His Highness said to the goldsmith and bronze-smith, "Plate that big tomb with gold and diamonds..."

Maka kepung orang itu, sekuasa kamu lawan, jangan lagi kamu taksir melawan orang itu ... (AI:109)
Surround that man, fight him with all your strength, do not think how hard it is to fight that man ...

Maka kata Sri Rama, "Hai Jagini, berdirilah engkau ..."
 Maka kata Jagini, "Hai Sri Rama, berdirilah engkau dahulu!"
 (AI:150-151)
*Sri Rama said, "Hi Jagini, stand up ... Jagini answered
 "Stand up first!"*

Among all the personal pronouns referring to the second person, only engkau is used to refer to God.¹¹ In all the four groups of manuscripts, the word engkau in this sense is found only in the *Bustan as-Salatin*.

Ya Tuhanku, Engkau juga mengetahui bahwasanya hamba-Mu tiada memohonkan ke hadirat-Mu suatu daripada dunia akan bahagiannya diriku ... Engkau jua sebaik-baik menganugerahi rezeki hamba-Mu. (G:100)
O my God, only You know that Your servant does not ask for something in this world for his own property. Only You endow Your humble servant with the best of luck.

Diri which refers to the second person can stand on its own. In this sense diri is followed by *tuan*, or its derived forms, and *-mu*.

Maka ujar *tuan putri* kepada *bidadari* yang keenam,
 "Pergilah diri pula minta baju kita ..." (RM:301)
And so said the princess to the sixth nymph, "Please go to fetch our garments ..."

Hai Raja Rawana, ngapa maka *tuanhamba* melakukan diri *tuan* demikian? (AI:143)
Hi Rawana, why have you done this to yourself?

Hai Ibrahim ibn Adham, apabila *tuanhamba* duduk serta orang pilihan dan segala fakir, maka jadikan diri *tuanhamba* upama bumi ... (J:18)
O Ibrahim ibn Adham, when you sit with the chosen ones and the fakirs, make yourself like the earth ...

Jadikan dirimu dalam dunia seperti dagang ... dan bilangkan dirimu itu daripada orang isi kubur. (G:104)
Make yourself the one that roams this world and put yourself among the dead.

The word *tuan* is usually used in a conversation between two persons equal in status. *Tuan* can also be used by someone higher in social status in his conversation with someone lower.

Maka kata *Indraputra* kepada *tuan putri Mengindra Sari Bunga*, "Baik *tuan* bersalin pakaian." (RM:531)
*Indraputra said to Princess Mengindra Sari Bunga,
 "It is better to change your garments."*

Apabila *Sri Rama* duduk, maka *Berdana Citradana* pun datang sujud lalu berdatang sembah ... Maka kata *Sri Rama* akan *Berdana Citradana*, "Ngapa maka *tuan* berkata demikian ..." (AI:181)
When Sri Rama sat down, Berdana Citradana gave him his homage and said ... Sri Rama then answered Berdana Citradana, "Why do you say that ..."

Only in its derived forms the word *tuan* is used to honour the one spoken to, i.e. *tuanhamba*, *tuanku*, *duli* yang dipertuan and *paduka duli tuanku*.

In the plural form, kamu is usually linked with the words kedua, sekalian or semua.

The use of the plural form of kita, referring to the second person, is only found in the *Bustan as-Salatin* as seen in the following example.

Maka tatkala dibaca sahifah itu, maka hadarat yang mahamulia pun mengucap syukurlah lalu dikurniai persalin akan Paduka Raja dan akan empat orang hulubalang itu. Maka sabda yang mulia, "Hendaklah kita mengiring kami ke Negeri Pasai!" (I:53)
When the epistle was being read to His Highness, he was happy and bestowed garments upon Paduka Raja and the four commanders. Then His Highness said, "Accompany me to the country of Pasai."

Personal pronouns for the third person

Ia, dia and (sekalian or segala) mereka are usually mentioned as personal pronouns for the third person in books on Indonesian grammar. Although they are not used as much as those of the second person, there is also a number of words used to refer to the third person, usually called pseudo personal pronouns (kata ganti semu or kata ganti yang tak sebenarnya). Personal pronouns for the third person in the manuscripts of the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, the *Hikayat Indraputra*, the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin* are listed in the following table.

Table 3 ¹²													
SINGULAR	HSR	HI	SM	BSI	BSG	BSJ	PLURAL	HSR	HI	SM	BSI	BSG	BSJ
ia, dia	+	+	+	+	+	+	mereka	+	.	+	+	+	+
diri	.	+	segala mereka	.	.	+	.	+	+
							sekalian mereka	.	.	+	+	+	.

Ia and dia are frequently used in manuscripts, either to refer to persons or things. In the four groups of manuscripts, ia and dia are also used to refer to persons high in social status.

Bahwa yang pertama-tama mengempukan Kerajaan Aceh Darussalam itu Sultan Ali Mugayat Syah. Adalah ia kerajaan pada Hijrah sembilan ratus tiga belas tahun. Ialah yang pertama-tama masuk agama Islam ... dan ialah yang terlalu perkasa ... (I:31)
The first king who reigned the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam was Sultan Ali Mugayat Syah. He became king on the year nine hundred and thirteen. He was the first to convert to Islam ... and he was the almighty ...

Hatta ... maka datanglah sebuah kapal ... Serta ia berlabuh, maka turunlah makhdum dari kapal itu, sayid Abdul Azis namanya, lalu ia sembahyang di pantai Melaka itu. Maka heranlah segala orang melihat dia ... (S&T:82)
One day ... a ship was approaching ... When it anchored, the captain descended from that ship. His name was Abdul Azis and he prayed on the beach of Malaka. Everybody was astonished to see him ...

The singular form of the third person pronoun is also used to refer to God. *Dia* is only used in the *Bustan as-Salatin* and only for translations of the Koran and the traditions.

Kembalilah kamu kepada Tuhan kamu ... dan berbuat amallah kamu akan *Dia* ... (G:145)
Return to your God ... and carry out good deeds for Him ...

Barang siapa mengasihi akan sesuatu, maka perbanyaklah menyebut akan *Dia*. (G:105)
Those who love (Him) should mention His name repeatedly.

Diri referring to the third person singular usually does not stand alone.

Maka ia berkata-kata ... "Demikianlah rupa raja itu hamba lihat." Maka ujar temannya, "Sungguhlah kata *diri* itu." Maka Indraputrapun tersenyum mendengar kata segala anak-anak raja itu. (RM:349-350)
Then he said ... "The King I saw looked like that (person). His friend said, "It is true what he said." Indraputra smiled when he heard the princes talking.

From the collected data about personal pronouns found in the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, the *Hikayat Indraputra*, the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin*, we can see that the word *kita* appears as personal pronoun for the first person singular and plural. It is also used for the plural form of the personal pronoun referring to the second person.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE COURSE OF TIME, 17th - 20th CENTURIES

What kind of changes do we have in our personal pronouns since the beginning of the 17th century? Are the frequently used personal pronouns in the past - especially those found in the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, the *Hikayat Indraputra*, the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin* - still very much used in our present Indonesian?

Personal pronouns singular

Among the personal pronouns listed in Table 1, only *aku* and *saya* - originating from *sahaya* - are still used in Indonesian. Recently, *kita* - which is found in the dialect of Minahasa - is also used as a personal pronoun for the first person in non-formal conversations. *Hamba* and *patik* are still used in narrating old literature. *Beta* is not used in Indonesian, except in a small part of modern poetry and in Ambonese dialect. Other words, i.e. *diri*, *kula*, *patik*, *menira* and *sida* are no longer used in Indonesian.

Kami, referring to the first personal singular, is not listed in Table 1. The reality is that now *kami* is frequently used to denote the singular form of the first person. In many cases, *kami* replaces *saya* in formal occasions.

Among the personal pronouns referring to the second person listed in Table 2, only *engkau*, *kamu* and *tuan* are still used in Indonesian. *Engkau* is still used to refer to God and it is often shortened into *kau*. *Encik*, *diri*, and *sampean* are not used any more.

Anda, a new word to communicate with the second person, has been coined in the last few decades.

Among the pronouns in Table 3, only *diri* is not used in Indonesian any more. *Ia* and mostly *dia* are still used to refer to God.

Beliau is not found in any of the four kinds of manuscripts. Instead of *ia* or *dia*, *beliau* is used to honour the third person.

Personal pronouns plural

Among the personal pronouns listed in Tables 1, 2 and 3, only *kami*, *kita* and *mereka*, denoting the plural form, are still found in Indonesian. Usually *berdua*, *semua* or *sekalian* are added to stress the number of persons involved.

Lately *kalian* becomes frequently used to denote the plural form of the second person.

NOTES

1. Quotations taken from other editions, which are still in the old spelling, are changed into the new spelling.
2. For the singular form of the personal pronouns, only words which appear in its basic form are listed.
3. A dot (.) in Tables 1, 2, and 3 means there are no such words in the manuscripts.
4. A plus (+) in Tables 1, 2, and 3 means the words can be found in the manuscripts.
5. Kinship terms used to refer to the first person, are frequently found in the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, the *Hikayat Indraputra*, the *Sejarah Melayu* and the *Bustan as-Salatin*. These words are (paduka) *adinda*, *ayahanda*, *anakanda*, (paduka) *anakda*, *ibunda*, (paduka) *kakanda*, and *nenekku*.
6. Besides *hamba* in Table 1, there are some derived forms like *diperhamba* (*sekalian*), *yang diperhamba*, *hambamu*, *hamba-Mu*, *hamba tuan*, and *hamba tuanku*.
7. *Daku* which never acts as a subject usually refers to the first person.
8. Kinship terms are frequently used to refer to the second person too. Among others are *abang*, (paduka) *adinda*, *anakanda*, (paduka) *anakda*, *anakku* (*kedua*), *duli*, *duli paduka*, (paduka) *ayahanda*, *anak cucuku*, *bapa hamba*, *bapaku*, *bunda*, *ibuku*, *cucuku*, (paduka) *kakanda*, *manda*, *paman*, *nenekku*.
9. *Tuan* in Table 2 — sometimes also written as *tuhan* — is found in several derived forms, such as *tuanhamba*, *tuanku*, (*duli*) *yang dipertuan*, (paduka) *duli tuanku*, *tuanhamba sekalian*, (*segala*) *tuan-tuan sekalian*, *sekalian tuan-tuan*.
10. Besides the derived forms of certain words and kinship terms, other nouns denoting the function and the social status of the person we are speaking to are also used, e.g. *bendahara*, *laksamana*, *orang kaya*, *sri maharaja*, *tuan putri*. Words to denote intimacy as *saudaraku* are also found.
11. *Dikau* is also used to refer to God in all the four groups of manuscripts.

12. Kinship terms used to refer to the third person are e.g. (paduka) adinda, ayahanda (bunda), anakanda, (paduka) anakda, anakda kedua, bapamu, bunda, (paduka) kakanda, and nenekda.
- Besides kinship terms, nouns denoting the function and the social status of the third person are also used, e.g. bendahara, laksamana, and tuan putri.

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PERILAKU SUFIKS VERBA DIALEK OSING

Dendy Sugono

1. PENDAHULUAN

Bahasa Jawa adalah satu bahasa yang termasuk rumpun bahasa-bahasa Austronesia yang memiliki wilayah pemakaian yang cukup luas dan memiliki jumlah penutur yang cukup besar. Studi tentang bahasa Jawa dari berbagai segi sudah banyak dilakukan orang, baik oleh tenaga Indonesia maupun oleh tenaga dari luar Indonesia (lihat Uhlenbeck 1964:80-107). Studi tentang dialek-dialeknya pun sudah mulai dilakukan orang.

Salah satu dialek bahasa Jawa yang hidup dan dipakai sebagai alat perhubungan oleh sebagian warga masyarakat Banyuwangi adalah dialek Osing. Dialek Osing memiliki jumlah penutur kurang lebih 495,260 orang (Sudjito dkk. 1978:22) yang tersebar di (a) Kecamatan Giri, (b) Kecamatan Glagah, (c) Kecamatan Banyuwangi Kota, (d) Kecamatan Singonjuruh, (e) Kecamatan Kabat, (f) Kecamatan Rogojampi, (g) Kecamatan Srono, (h) Kecamatan Muncar, (i) Kecamatan Cluring, (j) sebagian Kecamatan Genteng, dan (k) sebagian kecil Kecamatan Gambiran (lihat Soetoko dkk. 1979:29).

Studi tentang dialek Osing sudah dilakukan tahun 1972 oleh Koentamadi. Dia menulis tentang fonologi dialek Osing, yang merupakan kertas kerja Seminar Penelitian Bahasa Daerah pada tahun 1974 di Tugu, Bogor, Jawa Barat. Sudjito dan kawan-kawan (1978) menulis *Struktur dialek Banyuwangi* yang merupakan laporan penelitian untuk Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah-Jawa Timur. Di dalam *Struktur dialek Banyuwangi* dimuat (a) latar belakang sosial budaya yang mencakup wilayah pemakaian, jumlah penutur, kedudukan dan fungsi, tradisi sastra, dan ragam dialek Osing; (b) deskripsi struktur mencakup fonologi, morfologi, dan sintaksis. Di dalam deskripsi morfologi, dibicarakan sufiks-sufiks dialek Osing, tetapi hanya mencakup bentuk dan makna serta fungsinya dalam pembentukan kata. Pada tahun 1979 Soetoko dan kawan-kawan menulis *Geografi dialek Banyuwangi* yang juga merupakan laporan penelitian untuk Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah-Jawa Timur. Di dalam *Geografi dialek Banyuwangi* dimuat (a) peta unsur bahasa, (b) deskripsi dialek Osing yang mencakup keragaman, persebaran keragaman, daerah pusat persebaran, peralihan serta kunaan, dan (c) berbagai faktor yang mempengaruhi proses perkembangan dialek Osing. Dendy Sugono (1980) menulis tentang *Verba transitif dialek Osing*, yang juga merupakan laporan penelitian untuk Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa. Di dalam *Verba transitif dialek Osing* dimuat (a) akar klausa transitif, (b) frase verba transitif, dan

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(c) verba transitif yang dirumuskan menurut analisis tagmemik. Pada tahun yang sama, Dendy Sugono telah menulis *Sekitar masalah sufiks -i dan sufiks -aken dalam dialek Osing*, yang merupakan kertas kerja Seminar Penelitian Morfologi-Sintaksis pada tahun 1980 di Tugu, Bogor, Jawa Barat. Di dalam tulisan itu dibicarakan empat set verba yang bersufiks -i dan atau -aken. Tampaknya, dialek Osing makin menarik perhatian para peneliti. Suparman Heru Santoso sedang melakukan penelitian geografi dialek Osing sejak tahun 1980.

Di dalam tulisan-tulisan yang telah dibuat orang terdahulu, ternyata tidak terdapat pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba dalam kata dan perilaku kata yang bersufiks itu dalam klausa. Oleh karena itu, tulisan ini mencoba membicarakan perilaku sufiks verba dialek Osing yang bersifat melengkapi tulisan-tulisan terdahulu.

2. RUANG LINGKUP DAN MASALAH

Berdasarkan ciri-ciri kontras di dalamnya, akar klausa dapat dibedakan menjadi akar klausa bebas (*independent clause root*) dan akar klausa terikat (*dependent clause root*) dan dapat juga dibedakan atas akar klausa deklaratif (*declarative clause root*), akar klausa interogatif (*interrogative clause root*) dan akar klausa imperatif (*imperative clause root*) (Pike dan Pike 1977:39).

Dengan asumsi bahwa kontruksi bebas (*independent construction*) lebih dasar daripada variasi terikat (*dependent variety*) (Pike dan Pike 1977:39), pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba dialek Osing di dalam kertas kerja ini dibatasi hanya pada verba di dalam akar klausa bebas. Di antara akar klausa deklaratif, interogatif, dan imperatif dipilih akar klausa yang memperlihatkan ciri kontras verba yang ditandai oleh perbedaan sufiks. Akar klausa yang jelas-jelas menunjukkan ciri kontras verbanya ialah akar klausa deklaratif dan akar klausa imperatif, sedangkan akar klausa interogatif memperlihatkan persamaan verba dengan akar klausa deklaratif. Oleh karena itu, pembicaraan ini dibatasi pada verba dalam akar klausa deklaratif dan verba dalam akar klausa imperatif. Kedua jenis akar klausa itu memperlihatkan ciri kontras yang ditandai oleh sufiks pada verba pengisi slot predikatnya.

Masalah pokok yang dibicarakan di dalam kertas kerja ini dituangkan dalam bentuk pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut.

- a. Dalam konstruksi manakah sufiks verba dapat hadir?
- b. Bagaimanakah perilaku sufiks verba dalam kata?
- c. Bagaimana pula perilaku kata yang bersufiks verba itu dalam akar klausa? Adakah perubahan kelas ketransitifan dengan kehadiran sufiks verba?

3. KERANGKA TEORI

Teori yang dipakai sebagai dasar analisis sufiks verba dialek Osing dalam kertas kerja ini adalah teori tagmemik yang dikemukakan oleh Kenneth L. Pike dan Evelyn G. Pike dalam bukunya *Grammatical analysis*.

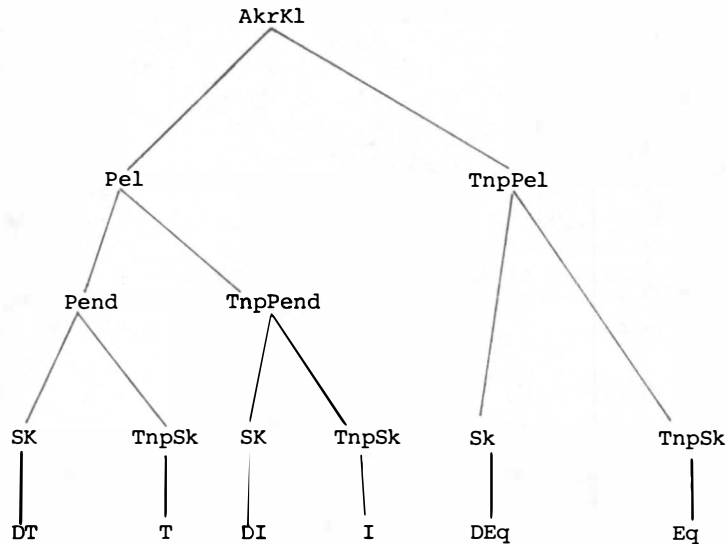
Menurut Pike dan Pike (1977:21), tataran hirarki gramatika suatu bahasa dari yang paling tinggi sampai pada yang paling rendah meliputi (a) percakapan (*conversation*), (b) dialog minimum (*exchange*), (c) monolog, (d) paragraf atau gugus kalimat (*sentence cluster*), (e) kalimat, (f) klausa (*clause*), (g) frase (*phrase*), (h) gugus morfem (*morpheme cluster*), dan (i) morfem.

Pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba tidak dapat dipisahkan dari masalah ketransitifan dalam akar klausa karena ketransitifan adalah ciri kohesi antar-konstituen di dalam akar klausa dan kohesi ketransitifan itu menguasai jumlah dan jenis konstituen dalam akar klausa (Pike dan Pike 1977:41). Oleh karena itu, perlu dibicarakan masalah ketransitifan dalam akar klausa sebelum kita memasuki pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba dialek Osing.

Menurut Pike dan Pike (1977:39-47), di dalam akar klausa—bahasa Inggris—terdapat enam jenis ketransitifan, yaitu (a) akar klausa dwitransitif (*bitransitive clause root*), (b) akar klausa transitif (*transitive clause root*), (c) akar klausa dwiintransitif (*bi-intransitive clause root*), (d) akar klausa intransitif (*intransitive clause root*), (e) akar klausa dwiekuatif (*bi-equative clause root*), dan (f) akar klausa equatif (*equative clause root*). Pembagian keenam jenis ketransitifan itu didasarkan pada ciri-ciri kontras dalam akar klausa.

Di dalam dialek Osing pun terdapat enam jenis ketransitifan dalam akar klausa. Keenam jenis ketransitifan itu seperti terlihat pada contoh-contoh berikut. (a) Akar klausa dwitransitif, misalnya, (1) Lila njuwutaken buku Nanang *Lila mengambilkan buku Nanang* (Lila *Lila* merupakan subjek-pelaku, buku *buku* merupakan adjung-penderita, dan Nanang *Nanang* merupakan adjung-skop) dan (2) Paman ngirimi isun pecis *Paman mengirimi saya uang* (paman *paman* merupakan subjek-pelaku, isun *saya* merupakan adjung-skop, dan pecis *uang* merupakan adjung-penderita). (b) Akar klausa transitif, misalnya, (3) Lila njuwut buku *Lila mengambil buku* (Lila *Lila* merupakan subjek-pelaku dan buku *buku* merupakan adjung-penderita) dan (4) sapine isun tuku *sapi itu saya beli* (sapine *sapinya* merupakan subjek-penderita dan isun *saya* merupakan adjung-pelaku). (c) Akar klausa dwiintransitif, misalnya (5) Jarot manggon nong Temuguruh *Jarot tinggal di Temuguruh* (Jarot *Jarot* merupakan subjek-pelaku dan nong *Temuguruh di Temuguruh* merupakan adjung-skop) dan (6) lare iku mlayu nong bapake anak itu *berlari ke ayahnya* (lare iku *anak itu* merupakan subjek-pelaku dan nong *bapake ke ayahnya* merupakan adjung-skop). (d) Akar klausa intransitif, misalnya, (7) Iyem nangis mihak-mihak *Iyem menangis terisak-isak* (Iyem *Iyem* merupakan subjek-pelaku) dan (8) umahe roboh *rumahnya roboh* (umahe *rumahnya* merupakan subjek-pelaku). (e) Akar klausa dwiekuatif, misalnya, (9) iyane ketok dhemen ambi rika *dia tampak senang kepada kamu* (iyane *dia* merupakan subjek-item dan ambi rika *dengan kamu* merupakan adjung-skop) dan (10) banyune kepanasan nggo isun *air itu terlalu panas buat saya* (banyune *airnya* merupakan subjek-item dan nggo isun *buat saya* merupakan adjung-skop). (f) Akar klausa equatif, misalnya, (11) anak isun wis dadi wong *anak saya sudah menjadi orang* (anak isun *anak saya* merupakan subjek-item) dan (12) lare iku ayu temenan *anak itu cantik sekali* (lare iku *anak itu* merupakan subjek-item).

Di dalam analisis tagmemik, seperti terlihat pada contoh-contoh itu, akar klausa dwitransitif mempunyai unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop; akar klausa transitif mempunyai unsur pelaku dan penderita; akar klausa dwiintransitif mempunyai unsur pelaku dan skop; akar klausa intransitif mempunyai unsur pelaku saja; akar klausa dwiekuatif tidak mempunyai unsur pelaku—subjek-item—tetapi mempunyai unsur skop; akar klausa equatif tidak mempunyai unsur pelaku—subjek-item—dan tidak mempunyai unsur skop. Dalam hubungan dengan akar klausa dwiekuatif dan equatif, kedua klausa itu tidak mempunyai slot predikat tetapi mempunyai slot komplemen (*complement*) sebagai sifat subjek (*character of subject*). Supaya tampak jelas enam jenis akar klausa itu, berikut ini dimuat bagan yang dikemukakan oleh Pike dan Pike (1977:44).



Setelah dilakukan klasifikasi ketransitifan dalam akar klausa, dilakukan klasifikasi verba ke dalam kelas ketransitifan. Sesuai dengan fungsinya di dalam akar klausa, verba diklasifikasi ke dalam enam jenis ketransitifan, yaitu (a) dwitransitif, (b) transitif, (c) dwiintransitif, (d) intransitif, (e) dwi-equatif, dan (f) equatif.

Di dalam konstruksi verba terdapat tagmem inti dan tagmem luar inti. Salah satu pengisi slot luar inti verba itu adalah sufiks. Sufiks verba yang dimaksud di dalam tulisan ini adalah sufiks pengisi slot luar inti verba dialek Osing, yaitu sufiks -i, sufiks -aken, sufiks -a, sufiks -en, sufiks -ana, dan sufiks -na.

4. SUFIKS VERBA DIALEK OSING

Di dalam dialek Osing terdapat enam sufiks verba. Dalam konstruksi verba indikatif terdapat dua sufiks, yaitu (a) sufiks -i dan (b) sufiks -aken, sedangkan dalam konstruksi verba imperatif terdapat empat sufiks, yaitu (c) sufiks -a, (d) sufiks -en, (e) sufiks -ana, dan (f) sufiks -na. Berikut ini dibicarakan satu demi satu enam sufiks itu beserta perilakunya, baik perilaku sufiks verba maupun perilaku verba yang bersufiks itu dalam akar klausa.

4.1 Sufiks -i

Sufiks -i terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif, yaitu (i) sufiks -i berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁, (ii) sufiks -i berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂, (iii) sufiks -i berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufiks -i berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₁.

4.1.1 Sufiks -i terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ ±-i atau +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ ±-i, seperti: (13) ngambung *menciumi*, (14) ngeceti *mengecati*, (15) cethuti *cubiti*, dan (16) pakoni *pakui*. Di dalam verba indikatif terdapat juga konstruksi: (17) ngambung *mencium*, (18) ngecet *mengecet*, (19) cethut *cubit*, dan (20) paku *paku*. Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ (13, 15) atau akar nomina₁ (14, 16) berperan sebagai penanda aspek (repetitif). Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -i (13-16) ataupun verba yang tidak bersufiks -i (17-20) realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut:

	S-Pel	P-Sta	Ad-Pend	
(13)	wong iku orang itu orang itu	ngambung <i>menciumi</i> <i>menciumi</i>	putune <i>cucunya</i> <i>cucunya</i>	(N-ambung -i) <i>cium</i>
(14)	iyane <i>dia</i> <i>dia</i>	ngeceti <i>mengecati</i> <i>mengecati</i>	gledhegan <i>gerobak</i> <i>gerobak</i>	(N- cet -i) <i>cat</i>
(17)	isun sing <i>saya tidak</i> <i>saya tidak</i>	ngambung <i>mencium</i> <i>mencium</i>	iyane <i>dia</i> <i>dia</i>	(N- ambung -i) <i>cium</i>
	S-Pend	Ad-Pel	P-Sta	Ko-Apos
(15)	lare iku anak itu anak itu	dicethuti <i>dicubiti</i> <i>dicubiti</i>		emake <i>ibunya</i>
(16)	pagere pagarnya pagarnya	isun <i>saya</i> <i>saya</i>	pakoni <i>pakui</i> <i>pakui</i>	(paku -i) <i>paku</i>
(19)	iyane <i>dia</i> <i>dia</i>	isun <i>saya</i> <i>saya</i>	cethut <i>cubit</i> <i>cubit</i>	(cethut) <i>cubit</i>

Pada contoh-contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba yang bersufiks -i ataupun verba yang tidak bersufiks -i termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -i tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan dan kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat tak wajib. Sufiks -i itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -i itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$(a) \quad VTIndAkt = + \frac{LInt}{PenAkt} \frac{<N->}{-} + \frac{Int}{Pred} \frac{AkrVT_1}{AkrN_1} \frac{LInt}{PenAsp} \frac{<-i>}{-} \quad (13, 14, 17, 18)$$

$$(b) \quad VTIndPas = + \frac{Int}{Pred} \frac{AkrVT_1}{AkrN_1} \frac{LInt}{PenAsp} \frac{<-i>}{-} \quad (15, 16, 19, 20)$$

4.1.2 Sufiks -i terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT₂ +i atau +AkrVT₂ +i, seperti (21) nyilihi *meminjami*, (22) nguwehi *memberi*, (23) kirimi *kirimi*, dan (24) silihi *pinjami*. Di dalam verba indikatif terdapat juga konstruksi (25) nyilih *meminjam*, (26) ngirim *mengirim*, (27) kirim *kirim*, dan (28) silih *pinjam*. Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ berperan sebagai pendwitransitif; keanggotaan akar verba transitif₂ amat terbatas. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -i itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

- | | S-Pel | P-Sta | Ad-Sk | Ad-Pend | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---------|---------------|---------------|--|
| (21) | Pak Guru | nyilihi | isun buku | (N- silih -i) | |
| | <i>pak guru meminjami saya buku</i> | | | <i>pinjam</i> | |
| | <i>Pak Guru meminjami saya buku</i> | | | | |
| (22) | Embah | nguwehi | Mamat klambi | (N- uweh -i) | |
| | <i>nenek memberi Mamat baju</i> | | | <i>beri</i> | |
| | <i>Nenek memberi Mamat baju</i> | | | | |
| | S-Sk | Ad-Pel | P-Sta | Ad-Pend | |
| (23) | Emak | isun | kirimi pecis | (kirim -i) | |
| | <i>ibu saya kirimi uang</i> | | | <i>kirim</i> | |
| | <i>Ibu saya kirimi uang</i> | | | | |
| (24) | iyane rika | silihi | sepedhah baen | (silih -i) | |
| | <i>dia kamu pinjami sepeda saja</i> | | | <i>pinjam</i> | |
| | <i>dia kamu pinjami sepeda saja</i> | | | | |

Verba indikatif yang tidak bersufiks -i (25-28) realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita saja, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

- | | S-Pel | P-Sta | Ad-Pend | |
|------|---------------------------|--------|---------|---------------|
| (25) | isun | nyilih | buku | (N- silih) |
| | <i>saya meminjam buku</i> | | | <i>pinjam</i> |
| | <i>saya meminjam buku</i> | | | |
| (26) | Bapak | ngirim | pecis | (N- kirim) |
| | <i>ayah mengirim uang</i> | | | <i>kirim</i> |
| | <i>ayah mengirim uang</i> | | | |

Pada contoh-contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba yang tak bersufiks -i termasuk kelas transitif, sedangkan verba yang bersufiks -i termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -i mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif. Kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba dwitransitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -i itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -aken, seperti (29) nyilihaken *meminjamkan*, (30) nguwehaken *memberikan*, (31) kirimaken *kirimkan*, dan (32) silihaken *pinjamkan*. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -i atau -aken itu dapat dirumuskan berikut.

$$(a) \quad \text{VDTIndAkt} = + \frac{\text{LInt} \mid \text{<N->} \mid \text{Int} \mid \text{AkrVT}_2 \mid \text{LInt} \mid \text{<-i>}}{\text{PenAkt} \mid - \mid \text{Pred} \mid - \mid \text{Pendw} \mid -} + \frac{\text{LInt} \mid \text{<-aken>}}{\text{Pendw} \mid -} \quad (21, 22, 29, 30)$$

$$(b) \quad \text{VDTIndPas} = + \frac{\text{Int} \quad \text{AkrVT}_2}{\text{Pred} \quad -} + \frac{\text{LInt} \quad \text{<-i>} \quad \text{<-aken>}}{\text{Pendw} \quad -} \quad (23, 24, 3, 32)$$

4.1.3 Sufiks -i terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVI +-i atau +AkrVI +-i, seperti: (33) ngrubuhi *merobohi*, (34) nebluki *menjatuhi*, (35) lungguhi *duduki*, dan (36) turoni *tiduri*. Di dalam verba indikatif tidak terdapat konstruksi *ngrubuh, *nebluk, *nglungguh, dan *nuru, tetapi terdapat (37) rubuh *roboh*, (38) lungguh *duduk*, dan (39) turu *tidur*. Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif yang bersufiks -i itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pel	P-Sta	Ad-Pend	
(33)	wite	kla	ngrubuhi	umah (N- rubuh -i)
	<i>pohonnya kelapa</i>	<i>merobohi</i>	<i>rumah</i>	<i>roboh</i>
	<i>pohon kelapa itu</i>	<i>merobohi</i>	<i>rumah</i>	
(34)	genteng	iku	nebluki	isun (N- tebluk -i)
	<i>genteng itu</i>	<i>menjatuhi</i>	<i>saya</i>	<i>jatuh</i>
	<i>genteng itu</i>	<i>menjatuhi</i>	<i>saya</i>	
	S-Pel	Ad-Pel	P-Sta	
(35)	elere	rika	lungguhi	(lungguh -i)
	<i>kipasnya kamu</i>	<i>duduki</i>	<i>duduk</i>	
	<i>kipas itu kamu</i>	<i>duduki</i>		
(36)	ploncone	isun	turoni	(turu -i)
	<i>tempat tidurnya saya</i>	<i>tiduri</i>	<i>tidur</i>	
	<i>tempat tidur itu saya</i>	<i>tiduri</i>		

Verba yang tidak bersufiks -i (37-39) realisasinya di dalam akan klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku saja seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pel	P-Sta	
(38)	lare	iku	lungguh (lungguh)
	<i>anak itu</i>	<i>duduk</i>	<i>duduk</i>
	<i>anak itu</i>	<i>duduk</i>	
(39)	iyane	turu	(turu)
	<i>dia</i>	<i>tidur</i>	<i>tidur</i>
	<i>dia</i>	<i>tidur</i>	

Pada contoh-contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba yang tak bersufiks -i termasuk kelas intransitif, sedangkan verba yang bersufiks -i termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -i mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; kehadirannya di dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -i itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -aken, seperti (40) ngrubuhkan *merobohkan*, (41) neblukaken *menjatuhkan*, (42) lungguhaken *dudukkan*, dan (43) turokaken *tidurkan*. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -i atau -aken itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (a) \quad VTIndAkt &= + \frac{LInt}{PenAkt} \left| \begin{array}{c} <N-> \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrVI \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{LInt}{Penr} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (33, 34, 40, 41) \\
 (b) \quad VTIndPas &= + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrVI \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{LInt}{Penr} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (35, 36, 42, 43)
 \end{aligned}$$

4.1.4 Sufiks -i terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrAdj₁ +-i atau +AkrAdj₁ +-i, seperti (44) ngresiki *membersihkan*, (45) madhangi *menerangi*, (46) petengi *tutupi*, (47) resiki *bersihkan*. Di dalam verba indikatif tidak terdapat konstruksi: *ngresik, *madhang, *peteng, dan *resik. Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva, berperan sebagai pentransitif. Verba yang bersufiks -i itu realisasinya dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pel	P-Sta	Ad-Pend	
(44)	Paman	ngresiki	dongkar	(N- resik -i)
	<i>paman membersihkan delman</i>			<i>bersih</i>
	<i>Paman membersihkan delman</i>			
(45)	bulane	madhangi	pesisir	(N- padhang -i)
	<i>bulannya menerangi pantai</i>			<i>terang</i>
	<i>bulan itu menerangi pantai</i>			
	S-Pend	Ad-Pel	P-Sta	
(46)	isun	rika	petengi	(peteng -i)
	<i>saya kamu</i>		<i>gelapi</i>	<i>gelap</i>
	<i>saya kamu tutupi</i>			
(47)	sepedhahe	isun	resiki	(resik -i)
	<i>sepedanya saya</i>		<i>bersihkan</i>	<i>bersih</i>
	<i>sepedanya saya bersihkan</i>			

Beberapa contoh itu memperlihatkan bahwa verba yang bersufiks -i termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -i mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu menjadikan transitif; kehadirannya di dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -i dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -i itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (a) \quad VTIndAkt &= + \frac{LInt}{PenAkt} \left| \begin{array}{c} <N-> \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrAdj_1 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{LInt}{Penr} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (44, 45) \\
 (b) \quad VTIndPas &= + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrAdj_1 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{LInt}{Penr} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (46, 47)
 \end{aligned}$$

4.2 Sufiks -aken

Sufiks -aken terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif, yaitu (i) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina₁, (ii) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂, (iii) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₂.

4.2.1 Sufiks -aken terdapat di dalam verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ +-aken atau +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ +-aken, seperti: (48) nggawakaken *membawakan*, (49) ngecetaken *mengecatkan*, (50) juwutaken *ambilkan* dan (51) paculaken *cangkulkan*. Di dalam verba indikatif terdapat juga konstruksi: (52) nggawa *membawa*, (18) ngecet *mengecat*, (53) juwut *ambil*, dan (54) pacul *cangkul*. Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif, (48, 50) atau akar nomina₁ (49, 51) berperan sebagai pendwitransitif. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -aken itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pel	P-Sta	Ad-Pend	Ad-SK	
(48)	Salamun	nggawakaken	pacul	Kakek	(N- gawa -aken)
	<i>Salamun membawakan</i>		<i>cangkul</i>	<i>kakek</i>	<i>bawa</i>
	<i>Salamun membawakan cangkul Kakek</i>				
(49)	iyane	ngecetaken	umahe	Embah	(N- cet -aken)
	<i>dia</i>	<i>mengecatkan</i>	<i>rumahnya</i>	<i>nenek</i>	<i>cat</i>
	<i>dia mengecatkan rumah Nenek</i>				
	S-Pend	Ad-SK	Ad-Pel	P-Sta	Ko-Apos
(50)	klambine	Nanang	isun	juwutaken	(juwut -aken)
	<i>bajunya</i>	<i>Nanang</i>	<i>saya</i>	<i>ambilkan</i>	<i>ambil</i>
	<i>bajunya Nanang saya ambilkan</i>				
(51)	sawahe	Embah		dipaculaken	Kabul (pacul -aken)
	<i>sawahnya</i>	<i>nenek</i>		<i>dicangkulkan</i>	<i>Kabul cangkul</i>
	<i>sawah Nenek dicangkulkan Kabul</i>				

Verba yang tidak bersufiks -aken (52, 18, 53, dan 54) itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita saja. Oleh karena itu, verba itu termasuk kelas transitif, sedangkan verba yang bersufiks -aken termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Dengan demikian, sufiks -aken mengubah kelas ke-transitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba dwitransitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -aken itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -aken itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{(a) } \text{VDTIndAkt} &= + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{PenAkt}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<N->} \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrVT} \\ \text{AkrN} \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<-aken>} \\ - \end{array} \right| + (48, 49) \\
 \text{(b) } \text{VDTIndPas} &= + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrVT}_1 \\ \text{Akr}_1 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<-aken>} \\ - \end{array} \right| (50, 51)
 \end{aligned}$$

4.2.2 Sufiks -aken terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N-+AkrVT₂ +-aken atau +AkrVT₂ +-aken seperti contoh (29, 30, 31, dan 32) dalam pembicaraan sufiks -i (lihat 4.1.2). Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ berperan sebagai pendwitransitif. Sebagaimana verba yang bersufiks -i pada konstruksi itu, verba yang bersufiks -aken realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop. Oleh sebab itu, verba itu termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Dalam hal itu sufiks -aken mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba dwitransitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Rumus verba dwitransitif indikatif bersufiks -aken ini sama dengan rumus verba dwitransitif indikatif yang bersufiks -i dengan konstruksi yang sama, yaitu sebagai berikut.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{(a) } \text{VDTIndAkt} &= + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{PenAkt}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <\text{N}> \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrVT}_2 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (29, 30) \\
 \text{(b) } \text{VDTIndPas} &= + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrVT}_2 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (31, 32)
 \end{aligned}$$

4.2.3 Sufiks -aken terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N-+AkrVI +-aken atau +AkrVI +-aken, seperti contoh (40, 41, 42, 43) dalam pembicaraan sufiks -i (lihat 4.1.3). Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif berperan sebagai pentransitif. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -aken realisasinya dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita. Oleh karena itu, verba yang bersufiks -aken dalam konstruksi itu termasuk kelas transitif. Dalam hal itu sufiks -aken mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; kehadirannya di dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Rumus verba yang bersufiks -aken ini sama dengan rumus verba yang bersufiks -i dalam konstruksi yang sama karena sufiks -aken dan sufiks -i dalam konstruksi ini dapat saling bersulih. Jadi, rumus verba yang bersufiks -aken sebagai berikut.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{(a) } \text{VTIndAkt} &= + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{PenAkt}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <\text{N}> \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrVI} \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (40, 41) \\
 \text{(b) } \text{VTIndPas} &= + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrVI} \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-i> \\ <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (42, 43)
 \end{aligned}$$

4.2.4 Sufiks -aken terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N-+AkrAdj₂ +-aken atau +AkrAdj₂ +-aken seperti (55) *njerokaken mendalamkan*, (56) *nerusakaken meneruskan*, (57) *gedhekaken besarkan*, dan (58) *dawakaken panjangkan*. Di dalam verba indikatif tidak terdapat konstruksi: **njeru*, **nerus*, **gedhe*, dan **dawa*. Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₂ berperan sebagai pentransitif. Verba yang bersufiks -aken itu realisasinya dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

- | | S-Pel | P-Sta | Ad-Pend | |
|------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| (55) | Pak Kabul | njerokaken | sumur | (N- jeru -aken) |
| | <i>Pak Kabul</i> | <i>mendalamkan</i> | <i>sumur</i> | <i>dalam</i> |
| | <i>Pak Kabul</i> | <i>mendalamkan</i> | <i>sumur</i> | |
| (56) | isun arep | nerusakaken | laku | (N- terus -aken) |
| | <i>saya akan</i> | <i>meneruskan</i> | <i>jalan</i> | <i>terus</i> |
| | <i>saya akan</i> | <i>melanjutkan</i> | <i>perjalanan</i> | |
| | S-Pend | Ad-Pel | P-Sta | |
| (57) | klambine | isun | gedhekaken | (gedhe -aken) |
| | <i>bajunya</i> | <i>saya</i> | <i>besarkan</i> | <i>besar</i> |
| | <i>bajunya</i> | <i>saya</i> | <i>besarkan</i> | |
| (58) | taline | pancing | didawakaken | (dawa -aken) |
| | <i>talinya</i> | <i>pancing</i> | <i>dipanjangkan</i> | <i>panjang</i> |
| | <i>tali pancing</i> | <i>itu</i> | <i>dipanjangkan</i> | |

Sufiks -aken dalam konstruksi itu (55-58) mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu menjadikan transitif; kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -aken itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -aken itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{(a) VTIndAkt} &= + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{PenAkt}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-N> \\ - \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrAdj}_2 \\ - \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right. \quad (55, 56) \\
 \text{(b) VTIndPas} &= + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{AkrAdj}_2 \\ - \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr}} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-aken> \\ - \end{array} \right. \quad (57, 58)
 \end{aligned}$$

4.3 Sufiks -a

Sufiks -a terdapat dalam dua macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu: (i) sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina, dan (ii) sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif. Verba imperatif bersufiks -a itu adalah verba yang tidak bersufiks di dalam konstruksi indikatif (lihat 4.1.1).

4.3.1 Sufiks -a terdapat pada verba imperatif aktif dengan konstruksi: +N-+AkrVT/AkrN₁ +-a, seperti (59) nggawaa *membawalah*, (60) njuwuta *mengambililah*, dan (61) macula *mencangkullah*. Sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif (59, 60) atau akar nomina (61) berperan sebagai penanda imperatif. Realisasi verba imperatif itu dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

- | | P-Per | Ad-Pend | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (59) | nggawaa | sangu kang akeh | (N- gawa -a) |
| | <i>membawalah</i> | <i>bekal yang banyak</i> | <i>bawa</i> |
| | <i>membawalah</i> | <i>bekal yang banyak</i> | |

- (60) macula sawah kang kulon (N- pacul -a)
mencangkullah sawah yang barat cangkul
mencangkullah sawah sebelah barat

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -a itu termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -a tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan. Kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba transitif imperatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -a tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif imperatif yang bersufiks -a itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$VTImpAkt = + \frac{LInt}{PenAkt} \left| \begin{array}{c} <N-> \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrVT \\ AkrN_1 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{LInt}{PenImp} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-a> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (59, 61)$$

4.3.2 Sufiks -a terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVI +-a atau +AkrVI +-a, seperti: (62) mlayua *berlarilah*, (63) tangia *bangunlah*, dan (64) menyanga *pergilah*. Sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif (62-64) berperan sebagai penanda imperatif. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -a itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa tidak memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

P-Per

- (62) mlayua tah (N- playu -a)
berlarilah
berlarilah
lari
- (63) tangia tah solung (tangi -a)
bangunlah dulu
bangunlah dulu
bangun
- (64) menyanga tah dhewek (menyang -a)
pergilah sendiri
pergilah sendiri
pergi

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -a termasuk kelas intransitif yang berarti bahwa sufiks -a tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan. Kehadiran sufiks -a dalam konstruksi verba intransitif imperatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks ini tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba intransitif imperatif bersufiks -a itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$(a) \quad VIImp = + \frac{LInt}{PenAkt} \left| \begin{array}{c} <N-> \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrVI_1 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{LInt}{PenImp} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-a> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (62)$$

$$(b) \quad VIImp = + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrVI_2 \\ - \end{array} \right| + \frac{LInt}{PenImp} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-a> \\ - \end{array} \right| \quad (63, 64)$$

4.4 Sufiks -en

Sufiks -en hanya terdapat pada satu macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu terdapat pada verba imperatif pasif dengan konstruksi: AkrVT/AkrN₁ +-en seperti: (65) gawanen *bawalah*, (66) juwuten *ambillah*, dan (67) paculen *cangkullah*. Sufiks -en itu hanya dapat berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina₁ dan berperan sebagai penanda imperatif. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -en itu adalah verba yang tidak bersufiks dalam konstruksi indikatif (lihat 4.1.1) dan juga verba transitif yang bersufiks -a dalam konstruksi imperatif aktif (lihat 4.3.1). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -en itu di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pend	P-Per	
(65)	bukune	gawanen	(gawa -en)
	<i>bukunya</i>	<i>bawalah</i>	<i>bawa</i>
	<i>bawalah buku itu</i>		
	bagian isun	juwuten	(juwut -en)
	<i>bagian saya</i>	<i>ambillah</i>	<i>ambil</i>
	<i>ambillah bagian saya</i>		
	sawahe	Embah paculen	(pacul -en)
	<i>sawahnya nenek</i>	<i>cangkullah</i>	<i>cangkul</i>
	<i>cangkullah sawah Nenek</i>		

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif pasif yang bersufiks -en itu termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -en tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan dan kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba transitif imperatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -en tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif imperatif pasif yang bersufiks -en itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$VTImpPas = + \frac{\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{Int} \\ \hline \text{Pred} \\ \hline \end{array}}{\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{AkrVT} \\ \hline \text{AkrN}_1 \\ \hline \end{array}} + \frac{\begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{LInt} \\ \hline \text{PenImp} \\ \hline \end{array}}{\begin{array}{|c|} \hline <-en> \\ \hline - \\ \hline \end{array}} \quad (65 - 67)$$

4.5 Sufiks -ana

Sufiks -ana terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu: (i) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁, (ii) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂, (iii) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₁. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana adalah verba yang bersufiks -i di dalam konstruksi indikatif (lihat 4.1.1 - 4.1.4).

4.5.1 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ +-ana atau +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ +-ana, seperti: (68) njuwutana *mengambililah*, (69) nggawanana *membawailah*, (70) juwutana *ambililah*, dan (71) paculana *cangkulilah*. Sufiksa -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ (68-70) atau akar nomina₁ (71) berperan sebagai penanda aspek (repetitif) sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.1). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	P-Per	Ad-Pend	
(68)	njuwutana <i>mengambililah uang terus mengambililah uang terus</i>	pecis terus <i>ambil</i>	(N- juwut -ana) <i>ambil</i>
(69)	nggawanana <i>membawailah buku saja membawailah buku saja</i>	buku baen <i>bawa</i>	(N- gawa -ana) <i>bawa</i>
	S-Pend	P-Per	
(70)	pecise <i>uangnya ambililah ambililah uangnya</i>	juwutana <i>ambil</i>	(juwut -ana) <i>ambil</i>
(71)	sawahe <i>sawahnya cangkulilah cangkulilah sawah itu</i>	paculana <i>cangkul</i>	(pacul -ana) <i>cangkul</i>

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu termasuk kelas transitif dan kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba imperatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -ana ini tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (a) \quad VTImpAkt &= + \frac{LInt}{PenAkt} \left| \begin{array}{c} <N-> \\ - \end{array} \right. + \frac{P}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrVT_1 \\ AkrN_1 \\ - \end{array} \right. + \frac{LInt}{PenImp} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-ana> \\ - \end{array} \right. \quad (68, 69) \\
 (b) \quad VTImpPas &= + \frac{Int}{Pred} \left| \begin{array}{c} AkrVT_1 \\ AkrN_1 \\ - \end{array} \right. + \frac{LInt}{PenImp} \left| \begin{array}{c} <-ana> \\ - \end{array} \right. \quad (70, 71)
 \end{aligned}$$

4.5.2 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +AkrVT₂ +-ana, seperti: (72) silihana *pinjamilah*, (73) kirimana *kirimilah*, dan (74) uwehana *berilah*. Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ berperan sebagai pendwitransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.2). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita dan skop, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-SK	P-Per	Ad-Pend	
(72)	isun <i>saya pinjamilah pinjamilah saya buku</i>	silihana <i>buku tah pinjam</i>		(silih -ana) <i>pinjam</i>
	Emak <i>ibu kirimilah kirimilah Ibu uang</i>	kirimana <i>pecis uang</i>		(kirim -ana) <i>kirim</i>
	Mamat <i>Mamat berilah berilah Mamat baju</i>	uwehana <i>klambi baju</i>		(uweh -ana) <i>beri</i>

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -ana mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif. Kehadiran sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi verba imperatif dwitransitif bersifat wajib. Verba dwitransitif imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\text{VDTImpPas} = + \begin{array}{c|c} \text{Int} & \text{AkrVT}_2 \\ \hline \text{Pred} & - \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c|c} \text{LInt} & & \\ \hline \text{Pendw} & \text{PenImp} & - \end{array} <-ana> \quad (72-74)$$

4.5.3 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +AkrVI +-ana, seperti: (75) lungguhana *dudukilah*, (76) turonana *tidurilah*, dan (77) dandanana *perbaikilah*. Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif (75-77) itu berperan sebagai pentransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.3). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pend	P-Per	
(75)	sikile	lungguhana	(lungguh -ana)
	<i>kaknya dudukilah</i>	<i>duduk</i>	
	<i>dudukilah kaknya</i>		
(76)	umahe	turonana	(turu -ana)
	<i>rumahnya tidurilah</i>	<i>tidur</i>	
	<i>tidurilah (bermalam) rumahnya</i>		
(77)	pagere	dandanana	(dandan -ana)
	<i>pagarnya perbaikilah</i>	<i>menghias diri</i>	
	<i>perbaikilah pagar itu</i>		

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -ana mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif. Kehadiran sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi verba transitif imperatif bersifat wajib. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\text{VTImpPas} = + \begin{array}{c|c} \text{Int} & \text{AkrVI} \\ \hline \text{Pred} & - \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c|c} \text{LInt} & & \\ \hline \text{Penr} & \text{PenImp} & - \end{array} <-ana> \quad (75-77)$$

4.5.4 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +AkrAdj; +-ana, seperti: (78) resikana *bersihkanlah* (79) padhangana *terangilah*. Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva, berperan sebagai pentransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.4). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

(78)	dongkare	resikana	(resik -ana)
	<i>delmannya bersihkanlah</i>	<i>bersih</i>	
	<i>bersihkanlah delman itu</i>		
	dalane	padhangana	(padhang -ana)
	<i>jalannya terangilah</i>	<i>terang</i>	
	<i>terangilah jalan itu</i>		

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -ana mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu menjadikan transitif. Kehadiran sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi verba transitif imperatif bersifat wajib. Verba transitif imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$VTImpPas = + \frac{\text{Int} \quad | \quad \text{AkrAdj}}{\text{Pred} \quad | \quad -} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr} \quad | \quad \text{PenImp}} \quad | \quad \text{<-ana>} \quad (78, 79)$$

4.6 Sufiks -na

Sufiks -na terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu (i) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁, (ii) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂, (iii) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₂. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na adalah verba yang bersufiks -aken dalam konstruksi verba indikatif (lihat 4.2).

4.6.1 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ +na, seperti (80) gawakna *bawakan*, (81) juwutna *ambilkan*, dan (82) cetna *catkan*. Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁ berperan sebagai pedwitransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.2.1). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-SK	P-Per	Ad-Pend	
(80)	Bapak <i>ayah</i>	gawakna <i>bawakan baju yang baru</i>	klambi kang anyar <i>bawa</i>	(gawa -na)
(81)	isun <i>saya</i>	juwutna <i>ambilkan surat kabar itu</i>	koran iku <i>ambil</i>	(juwut -na)
	S-Pend	Ad-Sk	P-Per	
(82)	umahe <i>rumahnya</i>	Embah <i>nenek</i>	cetna <i>catkan rumah Nenek</i>	(cet -na)

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Hal itu berarti sufiks -na mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif. Kehadiran sufiks -na dalam konstruksi verba dwitransitif imperatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -na tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba dwitransitif imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$VDTImpPas = + \frac{\text{Int} \quad | \quad \text{AkrVT}_1 \quad | \quad \text{AkrN}_1}{\text{Pred} \quad | \quad -} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw} \quad | \quad \text{PenImp}} \quad | \quad \text{<-na>} \quad (80-82).$$

4.6.2 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi +AkrVT₂ +-na, seperti (83) silihna *pinjamkan*, (84) kirimna *kirimkan*. Sufiks -na yang ber-kombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ berperan sebagai pendwitransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.2.2). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan kehadiran penderita dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pend	P-Per	Ad-Sk	
(83)	sepedhahe	silihna	isun	(silih -na)
	<i>sepedanya</i>	<i>pinjamkan</i>	<i>saya</i>	<i>pinjam</i>
	<i>sepeda itu</i>	<i>pinjamkan</i>	<i>saya</i>	
	pecise	kirimna	Emak	(kirim -na)
	<i>uangnya</i>	<i>kirimkan</i>	<i>ibu</i>	<i>kirim</i>
	<i>uang itu</i>	<i>kirimkan</i>	<i>Ibu</i>	

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba yang bersufiks -na termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -na mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif. Kehadiran sufiks -na di dalam konstruksi imperatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -na dalam konstruksi ini dapat disulih dengan sufiks -ana (lihat 4.3.2). Verba dwitransitif imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\text{VDTImpPas} = + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \mid \frac{\text{AkrVT}_2}{-} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw} \mid \text{PenImp}} \mid \frac{<-na>}{-} \quad (83, 84)$$

4.6.3 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi +AkrVI +-na, seperti: (85) rubuhna *robuhkan* dan (86) turokna *tidurkan*. Sufiks -na yang ber-kombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif berperan sebagai penransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.3). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

	S-Pend	P-Per	
(85)	gubuge	rubuhna	(rubuh -na)
	<i>danganya</i>	<i>robuhkan</i>	<i>roboh</i>
	<i>robuhkan</i>	<i>dangau itu</i>	
	adheke	turokna	(turu -na)
	<i>adiknya</i>	<i>tidurkan</i>	<i>tidur</i>
	<i>tidurkan</i>	<i>adik</i>	

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba yang bersufiks -na termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -na mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif. Kehadiran sufiks -na di dalam konstruksi verba transitif imperatif bersifat wajib. Verba transitif imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$\text{VTImpPas} = + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \mid \frac{\text{AkrVI}}{} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr} \mid \text{PenImp}} \mid \frac{<-na>}{-} \quad (85-86)$$

4.6.4 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +AkrAdj₂ +-na, seperti (87) jerokna *dalamkan* dan (88) terusna *teruskan*. Sufiks -na yang ber-kombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₂ berperan sebagai penransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.2.4). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------|
| (87) | sumure jerokna tah
<i>sumurnya dalamkan lah</i>
<i>dalamkanlah sumur itu</i> | (jeru -na)
<i>dalam</i> |
| (88) | crita rika terusna
<i>cerita kamu teruskan</i>
<i>lanjutkan ceritamu</i> | (terus -na)
<i>terus</i> |

Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -na mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu menjadikan transitif. Sufiks -na itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$VTImpPas = + \begin{array}{|c|c|} \hline Int & AkrAdj \\ \hline Pred & - \\ \hline \end{array} + \begin{array}{|c|c|c|} \hline LInt & & <-na> \\ \hline Penr & PenImp & - \\ \hline \end{array} \quad (87, 88)$$

5. KESIMPULAN

Di dalam dialek Osing terdapat enam sufiks verba. Dalam konstruksi verba indikatif terdapat dua sufiks, yaitu: (a) sufiks -i dan (b) sufiks -aken, sedangkan dalam konstruksi imperatif terdapat empat sufiks, yaitu: (c) sufiks -a, (d) sufiks -en, (e) sufiks -ana, dan sufiks -na.

5.1 Sufiks -i

Sufiks -i terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif dengan perilaku masing-masing sebagai berikut.

5.1.1 Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁ merupakan penanda aspek (repetitif); dalam hal itu sufiks -i tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan.

5.1.2 Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ merupakan pendwitransitif, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; sufiks -i dalam hal itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -aken.

5.1.3 Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penransitif, mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; sufiks -i dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -aken.

5.1.4 Sufiks *-i* yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₁ merupakan penransitif, menjadikan transitif; sufiks *-i* dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.2 Sufiks *-aken*

Sufiks *-aken* terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif dengan perilaku masing-masing sebagai berikut.

5.2.1 Sufiks *-aken* yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁ merupakan pendwitransitif, mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif, sufiks *-aken* dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.2.2 Sufiks *-aken* yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ merupakan pendwitransitif, mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; sufiks *-aken* dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks *-i*.

5.2.3 Sufiks *-aken* yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan pentransitif, mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; sufiks *-aken* dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks *-i*.

5.2.4 Sufiks *-aken* yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₂ merupakan penransitif, menjadikan transitif; dalam hal itu sufiks *-aken* tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.3 Sufiks *-a*

Sufiks *-a* terdapat dalam dua macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu (1) sufiks *-a* yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina₁ dan (2) sufiks *-a* yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penanda imperatif (aktif); sufiks *-a* tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks *-a* adalah verba yang tidak bersufiks dalam konstruksi indikatif.

5.4 Sufiks *-en*

Sufiks *-en* hanya terdapat dalam satu macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina₁ yang merupakan penanda imperatif (pasif); sufiks *-en* tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain dan tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks adalah verba yang dalam konstruksi imperatif aktif bersufiks *-a*.

5.5 Sufiks -ana

Sufiks -ana terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif dengan perilaku sebagai berikut. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana adalah verba yang dalam konstruksi indikatif bersufiks -i.

5.5.1 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁ merupakan penanda aspek (repetitif) sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.5.2 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ merupakan pendwitransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -na.

5.5.3 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -na.

5.5.4 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₁ merupakan penransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.6 Sufiks -na

Sufiks -na terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif dengan perilaku sebagai berikut. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na adalah verba yang dalam konstruksi indikatif bersufiks -aken.

5.6.1 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁ merupakan pendwitransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.6.2 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ merupakan pendwitransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -ana.

5.6.3 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -ana.

5.6.4 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₂ merupakan penransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

DAFTAR SINGKATAN DAN LAMBANG

Ad	adjung (<i>adjunct</i>)	Sta	statemen (<i>statement</i>)
Akr	akar (<i>root</i>)	T	transitif (<i>transitive</i>)
AkrAdj ₁	akar adjektiva ₁ (pemberian label angka Arab - ₁ atau - ₂ untuk keperluan pembedaan adjektiva satu dengan yang lain, yang mempunyai perilaku lain dalam pembicaraan sufixs verba dialek (Osing))	TnpPel	tanpa pelaku (<i>no actor</i>)
		TnpPend	tanpa penderita (<i>no undergoer</i>)
		TnpSk	tanpa skop (<i>no scope</i>)
		V	verba (<i>verb</i>)
AkrAdj ₂	akar adjektiva ₂	VDTImp	verba dwitransitif imperatif (<i>imperative bitransitive verb</i>)
AkrKl	akar klausa (<i>clause root</i>)	VDTImpAkt	verba dwitransitif imperatif aktif
AkrN ₁	akar nomina ₁	VDTImpPas	verba dwitransitif imperatif pasif
AkrVI	akar verba intransitif (<i>intransitive verb root</i>)	VDTIndAkt	verba dwitransitif indikatif aktif
AkrVT	akar verba transitif (<i>transitive verb root</i>)	VDTIndPas	verba dwitransitif indikatif pasif
Apos	apositif (<i>appositive</i>)	VI	verba intransitif (<i>intransitive verb</i>)
DEq	dwiequatif (<i>bi-equative</i>)	VT	verba transitif (<i>transitive verb</i>)
DI	dwiintransitif (<i>bi-intransitive</i>)	VTImp	verba transitif imperatif
DT	dwitransitif (<i>bitransitive</i>)	VTImpAkt	verba transitif imperatif aktif
Eq	equatif (<i>equative</i>)	VTImpPas	verba transitif imperatif pasif
I	intransitif (<i>intransitive</i>)	VTInd	verba transitif indikatif
Int	inti (<i>nucleus</i>)	VTIndAkt	verba transitif indikatif aktif
Ko	komplemen (<i>complement</i>)	VTIndPas	verba transitif indikatif pasif
LInt	luar inti (<i>margin</i>)		
N-	prefiks nasal		
N ₁	nomina ₁		
Pel	pelaku (<i>actor</i>)		
PenAkt	penanda aktif (<i>active marker</i>)		
PenAsp	penanda aspek (<i>aspect marker</i>)		
Pend	penderita (<i>undergoer</i>)		
Pendw	pendwitransitif		
PenImp	penanda imperatif (<i>imperative marker</i>)		
Penr	penransitif (<i>transitiviser</i>)		
Per	perintah (<i>command</i>)		
Pred	predikat (<i>predication</i>)		
S	subjek (<i>scope</i>)		
Sk	skop (<i>scope</i>)		

Lambang

- + = wajib
 ± = tak wajib
 < > = kelas morfem

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AYAT AKTIF, KELAINAN AYAT AKTIF ATAU AYAT PASIF?

Yeoh Chiang Kee

1. PENGANTAR

Hingga hari ini saya dapati masih ada beberapa golongan ahli bahasa yang tidak bisa membedakan ayat aktif daripada ayat pasif* dengan baik terutama sekali ayat-ayat yang urutan katanya hampir-hampir sama, misalnya, ayat-ayat seperti di bawah ini.

- (1) a. Saya memukul (meng+pukul) budak itu.
- b. Saya pukul budak itu.

Ahli bahasa seperti Chung (1976) yang menggunakan urutan kata sebagai hujahnya telah cuba menerangkan bahawa ayat (1a) dan ayat (1b) di atas ini adalah ayat-ayat aktif kerana kedua-dua ayat itu memperlihatkan urutan kata yang sama, yaitu *Frasa Nama₁ Kata kerja - Frasa Nama₂*. Perbezaan yang jelas kelihatan di antara dua ayat itu hanyalah pada ayat (1b) yang kata kerjanya kekurangan imbuhan awalah /meng+/ yang dianggapnya sebagai satu penanda *optional*. Manakala ahli bahasa seperti Hassan (1974) berpendapat bahawa kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral sekali serta tidak semestinya berpenanda. Jadi, menurut pendapat ahli bahasa golongan yang kedua ini, ayat seperti (1b) di atas ini tidak lain daripada satu kelainan ayat aktif (1a).

1.1 Tujuan

Tujuan saya membentangkan kertas kerja ini ialah untuk menunjukkan bahawa hipotesis-hipotesis yang dibuat oleh ahli bahasa seperti Chung (1976) dan Hassan (1974) ini adalah salah. Saya akan cuba menunjukkan bahawa sebenarnya ada perbezaan sintaksis di antara ayat (1a) dan ayat (1b) walaupun struktur permukaan kedua-dua ayat ini kelihatan hampir identikal.

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2. KETIDAKHARUSAN (OPTIONALITY) PENANDA AKTIF

Dalam kajian saya mengenai sintaksis bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia saya dapati apa yang dikemukakan oleh kedua-dua golongan ahli bahasa berkenaan dengan ketidakharusan penanda aktif pada kata kerja aktif adalah kurang tepat dan tidak boleh diterima. Alasannya ialah kerana ayat-ayat seperti (2) dan (3) di bawah ini tidak bisa dianggap sebagai ayat-ayat aktif yang gramatis dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia.

- (2) *Orang itu pukul budak itu.
- (3) *Saya telah pukul budak itu².

Kalau benar sebagaimana dikatakan mereka, yaitu kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral serta tidak berkehendakkan sebarang penanda, maka sudah tentu ayat (2) dan (3) dianggap gramatis. Tetapi tidak begitu pula halnya. Kesalahan ayat (2) dan (3) boleh dipertalikan dengan ketidakhadiran penanda aktif pada kata kerjanya. Jadi, untuk membetulkan ayat-ayat yang salah itu, bolehlah kita imbuhan sahaja imbuhan awalan /meng+/, penanda aktif, kepada kata kerjanya supaya ayat-ayat itu ditukar menjadi (2') dan (3').

- (2') Orang itu memukul (meng+pukul) budak itu.
- (3') Saya telah memukul (meng+pukul) budak itu.

Dengan ini maka bolehlah dengan mudah sahaja kita sangkal pendapat yang mengatakan bahawa kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral serta tidak berpenanda.

3. URUTAN KATA

Memang tidak boleh kita nafikan bahawa urutan kata dasar dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah *Frasa Nama₁ - Kata kerja - Frasa Nama₂*. Pendek kata, subjek mendahului predikat (Subjek - Predikat), tetapi kita harus sedar akan kelonggaran urutan kata dalam bahasa Malaysia. Tidak seperti bahasa Inggris yang mempunyai urutan kata yang agak *rigid*, yaitu subjek harus selalu mendahului predikat, bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia mempunyai urutan kata yang agak longgar sedikit kerana kerap kali kita tersua dengan ayat-ayat yang memperlihatkan urutan kata songsang seperti (4b) - (6b).

- (4) a. Budak itu sedang membaca buku.
 Subjek Predikat
- b. Sengah membaca buku budak itu.
 Predikat Subjek
- (5) a. Budak itu selalu menangis.
 Subjek Predikat
- b. Selalu menangis budak itu.
 Predikat Subjek
- (6) a. Gadis itu cantik sungguh.
 Subjek Predikat
- b. Cantik sungguh gadis itu.
 Predikat Subjek

Adanya ayat-ayat songsang seperti (4b) - (6b) mungkin disebabkan oleh adanya rumus sintaksis yang dikenali sebagai Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat (*Subject-Predicate Inversion Rule*) dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia. Ayat-ayat songsang seperti yang di atas ini tidak terdapat dalam bahasa Inggeris kerana ayat-ayat songsang seperti (7b) - (9b) dianggap salah.

- (7) a. The child is reading a book.
 Subjek Predikat
 b. *Is reading a book the child.
 Predikat Subjek
- (8) a. The child always cries.
 Subjek Predikat
 b. *Always cries the child.
 Predikat Subjek
- (9) a. The lady is very beautiful.
 Subjek Predikat
 b. *Is very beautiful the lady.
 Predikat Subjek

Dengan adanya Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat yang membolehkan konstituen subjek dan konstituen predikat saling bertukar tempat, kita telah boleh membuat satu kesimpulan bahawa urutan kata tidak bisa digunakan sebagai satu kriterion yang baik untuk menentukan ragam sesuatu ayat. Jadi, dengan ini, jelaslah bahawa hipotesis yang digunakan oleh Chung (1976) untuk menentukan ragam ayat dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia juga mempunyai tanda-tanda keraguan dan tidak dapat diterima.

Kelemahan hipotesis Chung (1976) dan Hassan (1974) telah menyebabkan kita menaruh kesangsian terhadap ragam ayat (1b) yang selama ini sudah dianggap mereka sebagai ayat aktif. Ada kemungkinan besar bahawa ragam ayat (1b) itu berbeda daripada ragam ayat (1a) sebab kata kerja ayat (1b) tidak berpenanda aktif, yaitu imbuhan awalan /meng+/. Kalau benar hal ini, tampaknya, dalam kes ini, imbuhan awalan /meng+/ dapat memainkan peranan yang agak penting dalam penentuan ragam sesuatu ayat. Sungguhpun begitu, kita masih tidak dapat mengatakan dengan penuh keyakinan bahawa ayat (1b) itu sebenarnya ayat pasif selagi kita belum mengetahui dengan lebih mendalam apa sebenarnya ayat pasif itu.

4. CIRI-CIRI PASIF YANG BERSIFAT UNIVERSAL

Mengikut teori nahu hubungan (*relational grammar*) yang dikemukakan oleh Johnson (1977) aspek pasif yang bersifat universal itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai (10).

- (10) *Passive (in relational terms)*³ (DO → S)
 a. $DO(A, V_i) \rightarrow SU(A, V_i)$
 b. $SU(B, V_i) \rightarrow X(B, V_i)$

Rumus pasif (10) boleh kita interpretasikan sebagai (10a) menerangkan bahawa frasa nama A yang mempunyai hubungan objek langsung (DO) dalam ayat aktif ditukar menjadi subjek (SU) dalam ayat pasif, dan (10b) menerangkan bahawa frasa

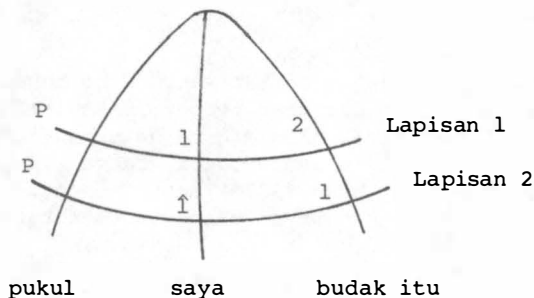
nama B yang mempunyai hubungan subjek (SU) dalam ayat aktif menjadi frasa nama *X-rated* yang tidak mempunyai sebarang hubungan objek langsung atau subjek dalam ayat pasif. Frasa nama *X-rated* ini boleh disamakan dengan kategori *chômeur* yang dicadangkan oleh Perlmutter dan Postal (1977).

Satu lagi teori yang berkaitan rapat dengan teori nahu hubungan, yaitu teori yang mementingkan rangkaian hubungan (*relational network*) harus kita kaji. Mengikut teori rangkaian hubungan yang dikemukakan oleh Perlmutter dan Postal (1977) ciri pasivisasi (pemasifan) yang bersifat ada dua seperti di bawah ini.

- (11) *A direct object of an active clause is the (superficial) subject of the 'corresponding' passive.*
- (12) *The subject of an active clause is neither the (superficial) subject nor the (superficial) direct object of the 'corresponding' passive.*

(11) dan (12) boleh juga diilustrasikan dengan gambarajah yang dipermudahkan seperti (13).

(13)



Mengingat Perlmutter dan Postal (1977), gambarajah (13) yang dipermudahkan itu boleh kita terangkan sebagai satu rangkaian hubungan yang mempunyai tiga lengkok (*arc*) dan dua lapisan (*stratum*). Lengkok kiri menggambarkan lengkok predikat, lengkok tengah menggambarkan lengkok frasa nama dan lengkok kanan menggambarkan satu lengkok frasa nama yang lain. Lapisan 1 melambangkan ayat aktif manakala lapisan 2 melambangkan ayat pasif. Angka 1 dan angka 2 yang terdapat pada lengkok frasa nama itu berturut-turut melambangkan subjek (*Term 1*) dan objek langsung (*Term 2*), sedangkan angka 1 yang bertanda v-kecil terbalik di atasnya itu melambangkan *Chômeur*⁴-subjek (*Subject-Chômeur*) mengikut teori nahu hubungan. Berdasarkan maklumat yang diberi di atas ini, gambarajah (13) juga boleh diinterpretasikan sebagai menyatakan bahawa rumus pasif bukan sahaja berkemampuan menaikkan taraf objek langsung (*Term 2*) dalam ayat lapisan 1 kepada subjek (*Term 1*) dalam ayat lapisan 2 tetapi juga berkemampuan menjatuhkan FN yang bertaraf subjek (*Term 1*) dalam ayat lapisan 1 kepada *Chômeur*-Subjek (*Subject-Chômeur*) dalam ayat lapisan 2.

Walaupun cara dan bentuk penyampaian yang digunakan oleh Johnson (1977) dan Perlmutter dan Postal (1977) itu berbeda, tetapi aspek pasif universal yang penting yang hendak dikemukakan oleh mereka itu adalah, pada hakikatnya, sama, yaitu dari segi sintaksis rumus pasif bisa menaikkan FN yang bertaraf objek langsung dalam ayat aktif ke taraf subjek dalam ayat pasif. Dengan perkataan lain, boleh juga kita sifatkan rumus pasif sebagai Rumus Penciptaan Subjek (*Subject-Creation Rule*).

5. UJIAN KESUBJEKAN (TESTS OF SUBJECTHOOD).

Untuk mengetahui bahawa sesuatu frasa nama itu berstatus subjek atau tidak, kita harus menggunakan berbagai-bagai ujian sintaksis yang bisa diterapkan kepada frasa nama yang bertaraf subjek sahaja. Hanya ujian-ujian semacam inilah yang akan membantu kita menentukan sama ada ayat-ayat seperti (1a) dan (1b) itu dua ayat yang berbeda atau tidak dari segi struktur sintaksisnya.

5.1 Rumus Pindahan (*Movement Rule*)

Dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia, saya dapati bahawa di antara subjek dan objek langsung, hanya subjek sahaja yang bisa berpindah dengan agak bebas secara sendiri, sedangkan objek langsung tidak dapat bertindak secara demikian. Objek langsung hanya bisa dipindahkan dengan pengikatnya, yaitu kata kerja transitif aktif. Ini adalah kerana objek langsung secara sendiri tidak bisa dianggap sebagai satu konstituen. Objek langsung hanya merupakan sebahagian penting daripada konstituen predikat. Jadi, kalau hendak dipindahkan, objek langsung harus dipindah bersama pengikatnya dalam satu konstituen. Cuba teliti baik-baik ayat-ayat di bawah ini.

- (14) Budak itu sedang membaca suratkhobar.
- (15) *Suratkhobar budak itu sedang membaca.
- (16) Sedang membaca suratkhobar budak itu.

Kesalahan ayat (15) jelas menyatakan bahawa selagi sesuatu frasa nama itu mempunyai hubungan objek langsung maka tidak bisalah diceraikan daripada konstituen predikat dan kemudian dikedepankan. Sekatan semacam ini boleh sekarang kita terapkan ke atas (1a) dan (1b) untuk mengetahui kalau ada terdapat perbezaan sintaksis di antara kedua-dua ayat itu. Untuk memudahkan rujukan kita, ayat-ayat (1a) dan (1b) akan saya tulis kembali sebagai (17a) dan (17b).

- (17) a. Saya memukul budak itu.
- a'. *Budak itu saya memukul.
- b. Saya pukul budak itu.
- b'. Budak itu saya pukul.

Kenyataan bahasa FN budak itu dalam ayat (17a) tidak boleh dipindah ke depan ayat itu sebagaimana dinyatakan oleh ayat (17a') dan bahawa FN budak itu dalam ayat (17b) bisa dikedepankan untuk menghasilkan ayat (17b') yang gramatis menunjukkan bahawa FN budak itu dalam ayat (17a) dan FN budak itu dalam ayat (17b) berbeda dari segi hubungan sintaksis.

Sebagaimana saya terangkan dahulu bahawa kalau sesuatu FN tidak dibenarkan bercerai daripada konstituen predikat, maka FN itu tetap mempunyai hubungan objek langsung dalam klausa itu, sementara FN yang sama daripada klausa lain boleh dipindah ke depan klausa maka FN itu tidak lagi mempunyai hubungan objek langsung dalam klausa itu. Jadi, dengan kenyataan ini, dapatlah kita mengatakan dengan penuh keyakinan bahawa dari segi sintaksis ayat (17a) berbeda daripada ayat (17b) walaupun kedua-dua ayat itu mempunyai urutan kata yang hampir-hampir sama. Oleh kerana FN budak itu dalam ayat (17b) dapat dikedepankan, maka sudah tentu hubungan sintaksisnya dalam ayat itu tidak lagi merupakan hubungan objek langsung tetapi subjek.

Dengan menggunakan Rumus Pindahan (*Movement Rule*), kita telah berjaya memperlihatkan bahawa, dari sudut sintaksis, (17a) tidak sama dengan (17b) dari segi ragam ayatnya. Menurut teori rangkaian hubungan, (17a) merupakan ayat lapisan 1 yang masih mempunyai subjek saya dan objek langsung budak itu manakala (17b) sudah merupakan ayat lapisan 2 yang tidak lagi mempunyai objek langsung sebab objek langsungnya yang asal itu FN budak itu sudah dinaikkan tarafnya ke subjek walaupun kehadirannya masih terletak di akhir ayat. Pendek kata (17a) ayat aktif dan (17b) ayat pasif.

5.2 Rumus Soal (*Question Rule*)

Satu lagi ujian kesubjekkan yang boleh kita gunakan untuk menentukan ragam gramatis ayat-ayat (1a) dan (1b) ialah Rumus Soal. Lazimnya, di antara FN yang bertaraf 'Term'⁵, hanya *Term* I sahaja yang bisa disoal. Ini dapat kita saksi-kan dalam ayat-ayat di bawah ini.

- (18) a. Engkau memukul budak itu.
a'. Engkaukah (yang) memukul budak itu?
a". *Budak itukah (yang) engkau memukul?
- (18) b. Engkau pukul budak itu.
b'. *Engkaukah (yang) pukul budak itu?
b". Budak itukah (yang) engkau pukul?

Ayat-ayat (18a) dan (18b) adalah berturut-turut selaras dengan ayat-ayat (1a) dan (1b). Ayat (18a) yang selaras dengan ayat (1a) itu mempunyai dua FN, yaitu engkau dan budak itu yang bertaraf 'term', FN engkau bertaraf *Term* I dan FN budak itu bertaraf *Term* II sementara ayat (18b) mempunyai hanya satu FN budak itu yang bertaraf 'term'. FN Engkau yang terdapat dalam ayat (18b) itu tidak lagi bertaraf 'term' tetapi sudah diturunkan tarafnya dari taraf subjek ke taraf *Chômeur*-Subjek yang juga tidak bisa disoal lagi. Kalau kita bandingkan ayat (18a') dengan ayat (18a") kita dapati hanya FN engkau yang bertaraf subjek *Term* I sahaja yang bisa disoal, sementara FN budak itu yang bertaraf objek langsung itu tidak bisa disoal. Perbandingan di antara ayat-ayat (18b') dan (18b") pula memperlihatkan keadaan yang agak berbeda. Kita dapati frasa nama yang bisa mengalami Rumus Soal ini bukan pula FN engkau, tetapi FN budak itu. Ini adalah kerana dalam ayat (18b) yang bertaraf subjek semasa (*current subject*) itu bukan lagi FN engkau, tetapi FN budak itu. FN engkau dalam ayat (18b) itu sudah dijatuhkan tarafnya ke *Chômeur*-Subjek akibat daripada Rumus Pasif.

Keadaan yang sama akan berlaku kalau Rumus Soal ini kita terapkan kepada ayat (1a) dan (1b) yang akan saya tulis kembali sebagai (19a) dan (19b).

- (19) a. Saya memukul budak itu.
a'. Sayakah (yang) memukul budak itu?
a". *Budak itukah (yang) saya memukul?
- (19) b. Saya pukul budak itu.
b'. *Sayakah (yang) pukul budak itu?
b". Budak itukan (yang) saya pukul?

Kesalahan ayat (19a") dan ayat (19b') masing-masing mengilustrasikan bahawa FN yang bertaraf objek langsung dan FN yang bertaraf *Chômeur*-Subjek tidak bisa mengalami Rumus Soal, dan kenyataan bahawa ayat (19a') dan ayat (19b") dianggap gramatis menunjukkan bahawa FN yang bertaraf subjek sahaja (tidak mengira subjek itu subjek asal seperti FN Saya yang terdapat dalam

ayat (19a) atau subjek terbitan (*derived subject*) seperti FN budak itu yang terdapat dalam ayat (19b) yang bisa mengalami Rumus Soal. Rumus Soal ini telah meyakinkan kita lagi bahawa memang ada perbezaan sintaksis khususnya ragam ayat di antara ayat (1a) dan (1b).

5.3 Rumus Relativisasi (*Relativisation Rule*)

Mengikut Hirarki⁶ Pendekatan yang bersifat universal (*Universal Accessibility Hierarchy*) yang dikemukakan oleh Keenan dan Comrie (1977), FN yang paling mudah direlatifkan ialah FN Subjek dan FN yang paling sukar direlatifkan ialah FN Objek Partikel Perbandingan (*Object of Comparative Particle*). Di antara dua kedudukan FN yang keterlaluan ini terdapat pula beberapa FN seperti objek langsung, objek tak langsung, objek oblik dan FN milik yang mungkin tidak dapat direlatifkan dengan secara langsung yang mesti dengan secara sistematik dinaikkan tarafnya kepada satu taraf FN yang boleh direlatifkan dengan secara langsung dalam kes ini, FN subjeklah yang saya maksudkan. Hal yang sama terdapat dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia dan ini dapat kita saksikan dalam contoh-contoh di bawah ini.

- (20) a. Orang itu akan memukul budak itu.
 a'. Orang yang akan memukul budak itu sudah ditangkap.
 a". *Budak yang orang itu akan memukul itu sudah ditangkap.

Gramatisnya ayat (20a') menunjukkan bahawa FN subjek boleh direlatifkan dengan secara langsung dan tidak gramatisnya ayat (20a") menerangkan bahawa objek langsung tidak boleh direlatifkan dengan secara langsung dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia. Akan tetapi, kalau FN budak itu dalam ayat (20) itu kita naikan dahulu tarafnya daripada taraf objek langsung kepada taraf subjek dengan menggunakan rumus pasif seperti yang terdapat dalam ayat (21a) atau (21a') itu, maka bolehlah FN budak itu sekarang direlatifkan dengan secara langsung supaya menghasilkan ayat (22).

- (21) a. Budak itu akan dipukul (oleh) orang itu.
 a'. Akan dipukul (oleh) orang itu budak itu.
 (22) Budak yang akan dipukul (oleh) orang itu sudah ditangkap.

Terdapatnya dua bentuk kelainan ayat pasif seperti yang dinyatakan oleh ayat (21a) dan ayat (21a') jelas menerangkan bahawa dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia urutan kata dalam ayat tidak begitu '*rigid*'. Subjek sesuatu ayat tidak semestinya selalu hadir di awal ayat, tetapi boleh juga diletakkan di akhir ayat seperti yang terdapat dalam ayat (21a'). Oleh kerana ayat (21a') bisa dianggap sebagai satu kelainan ayat pasif, maka sudah tentu berdasarkan alasan sintaksis yang sama, kita juga boleh mengatakan bahawa ayat (1b) itu sebenarnya bukan ayat aktif, tetapi satu kelainan ayat pasif.

5.4 Rumus Pengguguran FN Yang Sama (*Equi-NP Deletion*)

Ujian kesubjekkan yang terakhir yang hendak saya gunakan untuk membuktikan bahawa ayat (1b) itu sebenarnya berbeza daripada ayat (1a) ialah Rumus Pengguguran FN yang sama. Rumus ini adalah satu rumus sintaksis yang bersifat '*cyclic*' yang menggugurkan FN Subjek ayat sematan jika didapati FN itu sama dengan FN yang terdapat dalam ayat matriks. Bagaimana rumus ini bertindak dapat dilihat dalam contoh-contoh ayat di bawah ini.

Kesalahan ayat (26a') boleh dikaitkan dengan sebabnya bahawa FN Subjek saya dalam ayat sematannya yang sama dengan FN Subjek saya dalam ayat matriks itu tidak digugurkan sementara kesalahan ayat (28a') pula boleh disebabkan oleh penguguran FN saya dalam ayat sematan yang sudah tidak lagi bertaraf subjek. Tidak gramatisnya ayat (29a') adalah kerana kegagalannya menggugurkan FN budak itu yang kini sudah bertaraf subjek semasa dalam ayat sematan yang sama dengan FN budak itu dalam ayat matriks.

Semua ini dapat kita saksikan dengan lebih jelas lagi kalau kita bandingkan ayat (26a') dengan ayat (26a''), ayat (28a') dengan ayat (28a'') dan ayat (29a') dengan ayat (29a''). Kenyataan bahawa rumus sintaksis ini bisa diaplikasikan ke atas ayat (26a'') dan tidak bisa diaplikasikan ke atas ayat (28a') menunjukkan bahawa FN saya yang terdapat dalam ayat (1a) itu bertaraf subjek manakala FN yang sama yang terdapat dalam ayat (1b) itu sudah tidak lagi bertaraf subjek walaupun kehadirannya masih tetap di awal ayat sebab taraf sintaksis asalnya sudah dijatuhkan ke taraf *Chômeur*-subjek akibat rumus pasif; dan kenyataan bahawa rumus sintaksis yang sama tidak dapat bertindak dalam ayat (27a'), tetapi dapat bertindak dalam ayat (29a'') menunjukkan bahawa FN budak itu yang terdapat dalam ayat sematan (27a) itu bertaraf objek langsung manakala FN yang sama yang terdapat dalam ayat sematan (29a) itu sudah bertaraf subjek semasa walaupun kehadirannya masih tetap di akhir ayat sematan. Perbezaan hubungan nahu yang kita dapati pada FN saya dan FN budak itu yang masing-masing terdapat dalam ayat (1a) dan ayat (1b) telah membolehkan kita mengatakan dengan lebih tegas lagi bahawa, pada hakikatnya, ayat (1a) adalah berbeda daripada ayat (1b) dari segi ragam ayatnya.

6. PENUTUP

Dalam bahagian 2 saya telah menunjukkan bahawa pendapat yang mengatakan kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral serta tidak semestinya berpenanda adalah kurang tepat dan tidak boleh diterima; dan dalam bahagian 3 pula saya menyatakan bahawa urutan kata tidak bisa digunakan sebagai satu dasar untuk menentukan ragam ayat sebab dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia urutan kata tidak '*rigid*'.

Yang paling baik untuk menentukan ragam sesuatu ayat ialah rumus-rumus sintaksis seperti ujian-ujian kesubjekkan yang saya gunakan dalam bahagian 5.1 sehingga bahagian 5.4, sebab hanya melalui ujian-ujian kesubjekkan seperti Rumus Pindahan (*Movement Rule*), Rumus Soal (*Question Rule*), Rumus Relativisasi (*Relativisation Rule*) dan Rumus Pengguguran FN Yang Sama (*Equi-NP Deletion Rule*) baharulah dapat kita tentukan dengan baik serta dengan penuh keyakinan sama ada ragam sesuatu ayat itu berbeda atau tidak dengan ragam satu ayat yang lain. Dalam kertas kerja saya yang serba ringkas ini saya telah berkesempatan mengilustrasikan, melalui rumus-rumus sintaksis yang tersebut di atas ini bahawa ayat (1a) berbeda daripada ayat (1b) dari segi ragam ayatnya sungguhpun kedua-dua ayat itu memperlihatkan urutan kata yang hampir-hampir identikal. Ayat (1a) yang mempunyai subjek dan objek langsung dan kata kerjanya berpenanda aktif /meng+/ sudah tentu tidak dapat kita nafikan sebagai ayat aktif, manakala ayat (1b) yang sudah saya tunjukkan dengan berbagai cara mempunyai hanya subjek terbitan budak itu (bekas objek langsung ayat (1a)) serta kata kerjanya sudah tidak berpenanda aktif lagi harus dianggap sebagai ayat pasif. Ini adalah selaras dengan aspek pasif yang bersifat universal, yaitu objek langsung ayat aktif dijadikan subjek ayat pasif.

Terdapatnya satu ayat dalam bentuk ayat (1b) adalah kerana ayat itu ayat terbitan (mengikut teori rangkaian hubungan (*relational network*) ayat ini harus kita anggap sebagai ayat lapisan 2) yang sudah mengalami dua rumus sintaksis, yaitu rumus pasif yang bersifat '*cyclic*' dan Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat yang bersifat '*non-cyclic*'. Proses penerbitan ayat (1b) dapat saya terangkan seperti berikut.

Pertama kita mesti ada satu ayat aktif seperti di bawah ini sebagai '*input*'-nya.

(30) a. Saya memukul budak itu.

Kemudian kita terapkan rumus pasif ke atas ayat (30a) supaya ayat pasif (ayat lapisan 2) seperti (30a') dapat kita terbitkan.

(30) a'. Budak itu saya pukul.

Ayat (30a') ini merupakan satu ayat pasif yang memperlihatkan urutan kata biasa. Untuk menyongsangkan ayat (30a') kita harus menggunakan Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat. Aplikasi Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat ke atas ayat (30a') akan menerbitkan ayat (30a'').

(30) a''. Saya pukul budak itu.

Jadi, supaya lebih tepat lagi, ayat (1b) atau ayat (30a'') harus kita anggap sebagai satu ayat pasif songsang dan bukan ayat aktif atau kelainan ayat aktif sebagaimana dikemukakan oleh Chung (1976) dan Hassan (1974).

CATATAN

- * Terjemahan bahasa Inggeris dari judul kertas kerja ini adalah '*Is it an active, a variant of an active or a passive?*'. Kertas kerja ini telah diterbitkan sebelumnya dalam *Dewan Bahasa* 25/5:53-66, 1981.
- 1. Saya ingin mengambil kesempatan ini mengucapkan terima kasih kepada saudara Asraf, Prof. Asmah, Ahmad Awang, Hutagalung, Lutfi Abas, dan Mashuri Hj. Kader kerana kesudian mereka membantu saya menentukan ayat-ayat yang gramatis serta yang tidak gramatis.
- 2. Dari segi struktur, ayat (3) yang salah ini adalah identikal dengan ayat ayat yang tidak gramatis di bawah ini.

(1) *Surat itu aku akan tulis.

(Zain 1958:42)

(2) *Ayam itu saya telah tangkap.

(Alisjahbana 1976:42)

Yang berbeda hanya stalistika ayat sahaja. Ayat-ayat yang tidak gramatis di atas ini memperlihatkan urutan kata biasa manakala ayat (3) yang salah itu memperlihatkan urutan kata songsang. Kalau tidak disongsangkan, ayat (3) yang salah itu tetap salah juga, misalnya:

(3) a'. *Budak itu saya telah pukul.

- 3. Rumus Pasif yang bersifat universal ini dipetik dari artikal Johnson (1977:154).

4. *Chômeur* ialah perkataan Prancis yang bermaksud '*unemployed*' dalam bahasa Inggeris dan dalam bidang sintaksis bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia, mungkin kita bisa menganggapnya sebagai satu kategori FN yang tidak lagi '*sensitive*' kepada rumus-rumus sintaksis yang bersifat '*cyclic*'. Lazimnya satu FN dijatuhkan tarafnya kepada taraf *chômeur* apabila tarafnya '*dirampas*' oleh satu FN lain akibat rumus '*cyclic*', misalnya, Rumus Pasif dan Rumus Pengobjekan (*Objectivisation Rule*).
5. *Term* adalah satu istilah yang pada peringkat awalnya, digunakan oleh ahli bahasa nahu hubungan untuk menyatakan FN yang mempunyai hubungan subjek, objek langsung dan objek tidak langsung. Subjek dinyatakan sebagai *Term I*, objek langsung sebagai *Term II* dan objek tidak langsung sebagai *Term III*.
6. Untuk mendapatkan keterangan yang lebih lanjut mengenai hirarki ini, para pembaca diminta merujuk kepada Keenan dan Comrie (1977) atau Yeoh (1979b).

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KEMUNGKINAN ASAL MULA SUFIKS [-in] DAN SIMULFIKS [N-()-in] DALAM DIALEK JAKARTA BERASAL DARI BAHASA BALI

Wayan Bawa

1. PENDAHULUAN

Bahasa Melayu dialek Jakarta, lebih dikenal dengan sebutan dialek Jakarta (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi DJ), makin lama makin menarik. Bukan saja menarik bagi para peneliti, khususnya peneliti bahasa tetapi juga menarik untuk dipergunakan. Para mahasiswa Universitas Udayana, misalnya, menurut pengamatan penulis, terutama dalam komunikasi tak resmi antarsesama mahasiswa sering mempergunakan kata-kata yang berasal dari DJ; mereka mempergunakan kata-kata: *cowok*, *cewek*, *begok*, dan *ngapain* untuk kata-kata: *laki-laki*, *wanita*, *bodoh* dan *mengapa*.

Dalam kaitannya dengan gejala di atas, barangkali apa yang dikutip oleh Muhajir (1977:14) dari pendapat Ben. Anderson (1966:107) bahwa bahasa Melayu dialek Jakarta adalah *ngoknya* bahasa Indonesia (BI), dikaitkan dengan pendapat Muhajir yang mengatakan bahwa DJ akan menjadi bahasa lisan tidak resmi BI, bukanlah merupakan pendapat yang terlalu gegabah (Muhajir 1976; Firman Muntanaco 1976).

Dialek Jakarta menarik bagi para peneliti bahasa, terbukti dari banyaknya para sarjana bahasa menaruh perhatian terhadap DJ itu. Para peneliti itu bukan hanya bangsa Indonesia, tetapi juga banyak peneliti asing. Para peneliti asing secara historis antara lain adalah J.D. Homan (1867) merupakan peneliti pertama; Kwee Kek Beng (1923); dan banyak lagi peneliti asing lainnya termasuk C.D. Grijns, seorang dosen di Universitas Leiden yang sedang mempersiapkan sebuah disertasi mengenai DJ.

Peneliti Indonesia juga tidak kalah banyaknya. Mereka meneliti DJ dari berbagai aspek dan bermacam-macam pendekatan. Misalnya, Dr. Muhajir (1977) meneliti DJ dari segi morfologinya dan Yayah B. Lumintintang (1976) telah meneliti fungsi dan pemakaian DJ yang ditinjau dari sudut pandangan sosio-linguistik.

Peneliti-peneliti di atas, pada umumnya meneliti DJ tanpa mengaitkan bahasa-bahasa lainnya karena tujuan penelitiannya bukan demikian. Peneliti DJ dengan mengaitkan bahasa-bahasa Nusantara lainnya, yaitu melalui pendekatan ilmu bahasa komparatif sampai saat sekarang belum memadai. Hanya pernah

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dikatakan oleh van der Tuuk (1877-1884) bahwa DJ merupakan sejenis 'bahasa Bali rendah'. Sarjana tersebut hanya melihat dari segi kosa kata saja. Akhir-akhir ini, pendapat tersebut telah ditentang oleh A. Teeuw (1961:45) dan Hans Kähler (1966). Kedua sarjana itu pada dasarnya berpendapat bahwa pendapat van der Tuuk sangat sepihak karena ditinjau dari segi kosa kata, DJ bukan hanya mengandung kosa kata bahasa Bali (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi BB), tetapi juga merupakan sebuah dialek Melayu dengan unsur-unsur bahasa Bali, Jawa, Sunda, Cina, Arab, Portugis, Belanda, dan Inggris (lebih jauh lihat Muhajir 1977:6).

Dalam hubungannya dengan pendekatan komparatif linguistik, penulis sangat tertarik untuk meneliti kaitan DJ dengan bahasa-bahasa Nusantara lainnya, terutama hubungan DJ dengan BB.

Dilihat dari segi kosa kata, baik van der Tuuk maupun Hans Kähler tidak menyangkal bahwa BB memberikan sumbangan dalam kosa kata DJ. Dalam kaitannya dengan sumbangan tersebut, apakah BB menyumbangkan kepada DJ hanya terbatas pada bidang kosa kata saja; dengan kata lain, apakah tidak mungkin DJ juga menerima sumbangan dari BB dalam bentuk unsur-unsur bahasa lainnya seperti unsur morfologi.

Banyak sarjana berpendapat bahwa meminjaman kosa kata memiliki frekuensi yang lebih tinggi dari unsur-unsur bahasa lainnya, tetapi di lain pihak tidak pula dapat disangkal bahwa unsur-unsur bahasa lainnya juga dapat dipinjam dalam proses kontak dua bahasa seperti yang dijelaskan secara panjang lebar oleh Uriel Weinreich (1979, Cet. 9).

Dengan dasar pikiran tersebut di atas, penulis menduga bahwa sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ juga merupakan unsur-unsur yang dipinjam dari BB.

Dengan meminjam cara kerja komparatif linguistik, yaitu memperbandingkan kedua afiks tersebut di atas, terutama mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi yang terdapat dalam DJ dan BB, penulis mengharapkan dugaan tersebut di atas terjawab.

Pembuktian dari sudut ilmu bahasa, misalnya, tentang asal-usul penutur DJ, di samping perlunya diselusuri bahasa-bahasa Nusantara yang mana saja, terutama yang memiliki kemungkinan kontak dengan DJ, memiliki sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in].

Mengingat masalah-masalah terurai di atas, dalam bahasan berikutnya perlu diungkapkan secara berurutan hal-hal sebagai berikut.

1. Latar belakang penutur DJ;
2. Bahasa-bahasa Nusantara (yang memiliki kemungkinan kontak dengan DJ) yang memiliki sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in]; dan
3. Perbandingan mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi kedua afiks tersebut antara yang terdapat dalam DJ dan yang ada dalam BB.

2. LATAR BELAKANG PENUTUR DIALEK JAKARTA

2.1 Wilayah dan Penutur

Menurut Muhajir (1977), daerah DJ merupakan pulau bahasa di pulau Jawa. Sebutan yang demikian masuk akal karena wilayah DJ seperti sebuah pulau dengan dibatasi oleh bahasa lainnya dan laut. Sebelah barat dan selatan dibatasi oleh bahasa Sunda, di sebelah timur oleh sebuah dialek bahasa Jawa (?), dan di

sebelah utara oleh laut Jawa. Pulau bahasa tersebut lebih luas dari wilayah Daerah Khusus Ibu Kota Jakarta Raya (luas Daerah Khusus Ibu Kota Jakarta Raya 577 km², menurut Jakarta dalam Angka yang dikutip oleh Muhajir, 1977:xii).

Dari sumber yang sama diperoleh juga keterangan bahwa ketika Jan Pieterzoon Coen tahun 1619 menguasai Jakarta, Jakarta dibersihkan. Jakarta hanya dibiarkan dihuni oleh orang Cina serta berbagai suku bangsa lainnya, yang diperlukan oleh Belanda untuk peningkatan usaha perdagangan. Pada saat inilah didatangkan budak-budak yang berasal terutama dari pulau Bali dan Sulawesi Selatan.

Menurut perhitungan Castles (1967:157) yang dikutip pula oleh Muhajir (1977:4), suku bangsa Bali pada tahun 1671 berjumlah 981 orang (lihat Tabel I). Pada tahun 1815 penduduk Jakarta yang termasuk suku bangsa Bali berjumlah 7.720 orang. Jumlah suku Bali sebanyak itu jauh lebih banyak dari suku Melayu yang berjumlah 3.155 orang (lihat Tabel I).

2.2 Bahasa

Menurut penelitian Hans Kähler (1966; dan lihat juga Muhajir 1977:6-7), bahasa penduduk Jakarta adalah sejenis bahasa Melayu. Jika dilihat dari kosa katanya, bahasa tersebut terdiri dari unsur-unsur kosa kata yang berasal dari bahasa Bali, Cina, Sunda, Jawa, Arab, Portugis, Belanda, dan Inggris. Sayangnya kedua peneliti tersebut di atas belum sampai menjelaskan tentang jumlah persentase kosa kata masing-masing bahasa yang disebutkannya di atas.

Menurut perhitungan penulis, dari sekitar 1.000 buah kata kepala yang dilampirkan dalam disertasi Muhajir (1977), sekitar 250 buah kata kepala yang sama atau yang mungkin berasal dari kosa kata bahasa Bali. Kalau jumlah kata-kata tersebut depersentasekan, maka kata-kata yang sama atau yang mungkin berasal dari kosa kata BB, yang dipergunakan oleh DJ, berjumlah sekitar 25%. Seandainya persentase tersebut mencakup pada seluruh kosa kata yang dipergunakan dalam DJ, maka unsur-unsur kosa kata yang berasal dari bahasa-bahasa selain BB akan menunjukkan angka menjadi 75%. Tentunya jumlah persentase tersebut akan jauh lebih rendah, seandainya dibagi sama rata oleh tujuh bahasa lainnya yang membentuk kosa kata DJ seperti yang dikatakan oleh Hans Kähler di atas.

Kiranya perhitungan persentase untuk masing-masing bahasa yang memberikan sumbangan dalam bidang kosa kata kepada DJ tidaklah semudah di atas. Akan tetapi, yang jelas, dari data lain, yaitu kamus Dialek Jakarta susunan Abdul Chaer (1976), penulis juga menemukan kosa kata yang persentasenya cukup tinggi yang berasal atau sama dengan unsur-unsur kosa kata BB.

3. BAHASA-BAHASA NUSANTARA (YANG MEMILIKI KEMUNGKINAN KONTAK DENGAN DIALEK JAKARTA) YANG MEMILIKI SUFIKS [-in] DAN SIMULFIKS [N-()-in].

Sejauh penelitian penulis, sampai saat ini, penulis hanya menemukan tiga buah bahasa Nusantara yang mempunyai sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in]. Ketiga bahasa tersebut adalah: (1) bahasa Bali, (2) bahasa Sasak, dan (3) dialek Jakarta.¹

Jika diperhatikan dari latar belakang penutur DJ, terutama suku bangsa yang berbaur menjadi satu, kemudian membentuk penutur DJ (lihat Tabel I), ternyata bahasa Sasak memiliki kemungkinan yang sangat kecil atau sama sekali tidak melakukan kontak dengan DJ. Demikian pula, jika dilihat dari wilayah penutur kedua bahasa tersebut (bahasa Sasak di pulau Lombok dan DJ di daerah Jakarta-Raya dan sekitarnya), kedua bahasa tersebut sulit melakukan kontak.

Mengingat kemungkinan tersebut di atas, pada uraian berikutnya, penulis hanya akan membicarakan tentang sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in] yang terdapat dalam BB dan DJ. Selanjutnya, akan dibicarakan secara berurutan mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi kedua afiks tersebut di atas, baik yang terdapat dalam BB maupun yang ada dalam DJ.

Tabel 1			
Penduduk kota Betawi dan daerah pinggiran			
Penduduk	1967	1815	1893
Eropa dan campuran	2.750	2.028	9.017
Cina, termasuk peranakan	2.747	11.854	26.569
'Mardijkers'	5.362	-	-
Arab	-	318	2.842
'Moors'	-	119	-
Jawa, termasuk Sunda	6.339 ¹	3.331	-
Sulawesi Selatan	-	4.139 ²	-
Bali	981	7.720	72.241 ³
Sumbawa	-	232	-
Ambon dan Banda	-	82	-
Melayu	611	3.155	-
Budak	13.278 ⁴	14.249	-
	32.068	47.217	110.669

¹ Termasuk 5.000 penduduk Jawa dan Sunda di luar tembok benteng.

² Termasuk sejumlah kecil orang Timor.

³ Jumlah penduduk campuran.

⁴ Tidak termasuk 1.260 'Warga Belanda' dan keturunannya, dan 359 penduduk asli.

3.1 Bahasa Bali

3.1.1 Bentuk

Dalam bahasa Bali baku (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi BBB), sufiks [-in] memiliki dua macam variasi. Kedua variasi tersebut, pertama berbentuk [-in] dan kedua berbentuk [-nin]. Bentuk yang kedua merupakan alomorf bentuk yang pertama.

Menurut penelitian penulis (Bawa 1980), bentuk sufiks yang kedua tersebut di atas, pada beberapa tempat di Bali, terutama di Bali Selatan, memiliki bentuk yang lain variasinya, yaitu [-ʔin]. Bentuk alomorf sufiks [-in] akan terjadi jika sufiks itu dilekatkan pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem vokal,

sedangkan pelekatan sufiks itu pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem konsonan akan tetap berbentuk seperti sufiks aslinya.

Contoh-contoh pelekatan morfem sufiks [-in] pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem vokal:

- (1) isi [isi] + [-in] — isinin [isinin] *diisi*
- (2) gede [gəde] + [-in] — gedenin [gədenin] *diperbesar*
- (3) aba [abə] + [-in] — abanin [abanin] *bawakan*
- (4) guyu [guyu] + [-in] — guyunin [guyunin] *diperolok*
- (5) nyonyo [ñoño] + [-in] — nyonyonin [ñoñonin] *disusui*

Bentuk-bentuk tersebut di atas, di beberapa tempat di Bali akan menjadi (1) [isiʔin], (2) [gədeʔin], (3) [abəʔin], (4) [guyuʔin], dan (5) [ñoñoʔin], dengan catatan bunyi glotal stopnya memiliki intensitas yang bervariasi.

Contoh-contoh pelekatan sufiks [-in] pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem konsonan:

- (6) tepuk [təpuk] + [-in] — tepukin [təpukin] *dijumpai*
- (7) barak [barak] + [-in] — barakin [barakin] *dimerahi*
- (8) ubad [ubad] + [-in] — ubadin [ubadin] *diobati*
- (9) bedeg [bədeg] + [-in] — bedegin [bədegin] *diisi gedeg*

Khusus untuk morfem dasar yang diakhiri dengan fonem vokal /ə/, jika mendapat sufiks [-in] akan terjadi peluluhan atau sandi, misalnya:

- (10) ica [icə] + [-in] — icen [icen] *diberi*
- (11) suka [sukə] + [-in] — suken [sukən] *kesenangan*

3.1.2 Arti

Sufiks [-in] dalam BB memiliki lima macam arti. Kelima arti sufiks tersebut adalah sebagai berikut.

a. menyatakan perbuatan berulang-ulang seperti yang dikatakan oleh morfem dasar, misalnya:

- (12) jagur [jagur] *pukuli* — jagurin [jagurin] *pukuli*
- (13) sigit [sigit] *cubit* — sigitin [sigitin] *dicubiti*

b. melakukan perbuatan seperti disebutkan oleh morfem dasar misalnya:

- (14) tanem [tanəm] *tanam* — tanemin [tanəmin] *ditanami*
- (15) jemak [jəmak] *ambil* — jemakin [jəmakin] *diambil*

c. memberi yang dikatakan oleh morfem dasar, misalnya:

- (16) kulit [kulit] *kulit* — kulitin [kulitin] *dikuliti*
- (17) gula [gulə] *gula* — gulain [gulain] *diberi gula*

d. menimbulkan atau menyebabkan seperti yang disebutkan oleh morfem dasar misalnya:

- (18) jekeh [jəjəh] *takut* – jekehin [jəjəhin] *menyebabkan takut*
 (19) genit [ɡenit] *gatal* – genitin [ɡenitin] *menyebabkan gatal*
- e. melakukan upacara atau perbuatan seperti yang disebut oleh morfem dasar, misalnya:
- (20) oton [oton] *hari kelahiran* – otonin [otonin] *melakukan upacara oton*
 (21) telu bulan [təlu bulan] (*umur*) *tiga bulan* – telu bulanin [təlu bulanin] *melakukan upacara tiga bulan*
- f. dibuat lebih, misalnya:
- (22) gede [ɡədə] *besar* – gedenin [ɡədenin] *dibuat lebih besar*

3.1.3 Fungsi

Ditinjau dari segi fungsi, sufiks [-in] BB memiliki fungsi sebagai berikut:

- memverbalkan jenis kata nominal dan ajektival; lihat contoh nomor (1) dan nomor (3) di atas;
- memverbalkan jenis kata partikel, khususnya yang masuk jenis kata tanya, misalnya:

- (23) kuda [kudə] *berapa* – kudanin [kudanin] *dibagi berapa*
 (24) kija [kijə] *ke mana* – kijanin [kijanin] *dipindahkan ke mana*

Simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam BB memiliki bentuk-bentuk sebagai berikut:

- a. [m-()-in]; misalnya:
- (25) puyeng [puyəŋ] *pusing* – muyengin [muyəŋin] *memusingkan*
 (26) belog [bəlog] *bodoh* – melogin [məlogin] *berbuat seperti orang bodoh*
- b. [n-()-in], misalnya:
- (27) tampah [təpəh] *sembelih* – nampahin [nəpəhin] *melakukan pekerjaan sembelih berkali-kali.*
 (28) degag [dəgəg] *sombong* – negagin [nəgəgin] *menyombongi*
- c. [ŋ-()-in], misalnya:
- (29) kenyel [kəñəl] *letih* – ngenyelin [ŋəñəlɪn] *meletihkan*
 (30) gelut [ɡəlut] *gelut* – ngelutin [ŋəlutin] *menggelut*
 (31) opek [opək] *suasana sesak* – ngopekin [ŋopəkɪn] *menyesakkan nafas*
- d. [ñ-()-in], contoh-contohnya:
- (32) soleh [soleh] *aneh* – nyolehin [ñolehin] *berbuat aneh-aneh*
 (33) calep [calep] *suka minta-minta* – nyalepin [ñalepin] *berbuat suka minta-minta*
 (34) jegeg [jəgəg] *cantik* – nyegegin [ñəgəgin] *mengungguli kecantikan yang lain*

Adapun arti yang ditimbulkan oleh pemakaian simulfiks [N-()-in] adalah sebagai berikut:

- menyebabkan atau membuat jadi; lihat contoh nomor (25);
- berbuat seperti yang dikatakan morfem dasar; lihat contoh nomor (26);
- melakukan pekerjaan berkali-kali; lihat contoh nomor (27) dan (28);
- menyatakan lebih (superlatif); lihat contoh nomor (34).

Fungsi simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam BB adalah memverbalkan ajektival yang masuk ke dalam golongan kata sifat. Lihat contoh nomor (25)-(34).

3.2 Bahasa Sasak

Bahasa Sasak, yaitu bahasa ibu suku bangsa Sasak yang mendiami pulau Lombok; juga memiliki sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in] (lihat catatan kaki¹). Akan tetapi, dalam kesempatan ini tidak akan penulis bicarakan mengingat bahwa kemungkinan kedua afiks itu yang ada dalam DJ, berasal dari bahasa Sasak sangat jauh.

Peminjaman unsur-unsur bahasa yang satu oleh bahasa lainnya hanya mungkin disebabkan oleh pergaulan yang intim antarpemutur kedua bahasa. Dalam kaitannya dengan ini, seperti yang dikatakan oleh Castles mengenai struktur pemutur DJ (lihat Tabel I), tidak didapatkan pemutur DJ termasuk suku bangsa Sasak.

3.3 Dialek Jakarta

Sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam DJ memiliki bentuk, arti, dan fungsi yang bukan semacam. Kenyataan ini dapat dilihat dari hasil penelitian Abdul Chaer (1976) dan Muhajir (1977).

Dalam pembicaraan berikutnya akan dibicarakan secara berurutan mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi kedua afiks tersebut yang terdapat dalam DJ.

3.3.1 Bentuk

Sufiks [-in] dalam DJ memiliki dua macam variasi bentuk. Pertama, tetap berbentuk seperti bentuk sufiks aslinya, yaitu [-in]. Bentuk yang kedua, sufiks tersebut mengalami alomorf.

Sufiks [-in] tetap berbentuk seperti bentuk aslinya, jika sufiks tersebut dilekatkan pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem konsonan. Misalnya:

(35) ambil [ambil] + [-in] - ambilin [ambilin] *ambilkan*

(36) sakit [sakit] + [-in] - sakit-sakitin [sakit-sakitin]
menyakitkan

Bentuk yang kedua memiliki beberapa variasi bentuk, bergantung dari macam fonem vokal yang dilekati oleh sufiks tersebut. Bentuk-bentuknya dapat disebutkan seperti di bawah ini:

- jika fonem /E/ yang mengakhiri morfem dasar yang dilekati oleh sufiks maka fonem itu akan berubah menjadi arkifonem /A/. Misalnya:

- (37) *lupe* [lupE] + [-in] – *lupain* [lupAin] *terlupakan*
- (38) *lame* [lamE] + [-in] – *lamain* [lamAin] *lamakan*
- b. jika fonem /i/ yang mengakhiri morfem dasar yang dilekati oleh sufiks [-in], maka antara kedua fonem /i/ tersebut akan terdapat glotal stop. Misalnya:
- (39) *beli* [bəli] + [-in] – *beli'in* [bəliʔin] *belikan*
- (40) *isi* [isi] + [-in] – *isi'in* [isiʔin] *isikan*
- c. terjadi alomorf mana suka, jika morfem dasar yang dilekati sufiks tersebut diakhiri oleh fonem /e/ dan /a/. Misalnya:
- (41) *sampé* [sampe] + [-in] – *sampé (')in* [sampe(?)in] *sampaikan*
- (42) *bawa* [bawa] + [-in] – *bawa'in* [bawa(?)in] *bawakan*

3.3.2 Arti

Arti sufiks [-in] dalam DJ antara lain dapat disebutkan sebagai berikut:

- a. menyebabkan atau membuat jadi, misalnya:
- (43) Babè lagi betulin arloji. *Bapak sedang memperbaiki arlodji;*
- (44) Emak lagi benerin baju ayè. *Ibu sedang memperbaiki baju saya.*
- b. menyatakan imperatif, misalnya:
- (45) Tulung ambilin guè tu koran. *Tolong ambilkan saya koran itu;*
- (46) Doain dong supayè guè selamat. *Doakan supaya saya selamat.*
- c. menyatakan dibuat lebih, misalnya:
- (47) Jangan gedè-gedèin utang, ntar lu celakè. *Jangan memperbesar hutang, nanti kamu celaka.*
- d. menyatakan intensitas, misalnya:
- (48) Tulung liat-liatin tu anak-anak yè. *Tolong lihat-lihat anak-anakmu;*
- (49) Kalo ngomong amè diè, sakit-sakitin ati ajè. *Kalau berbicara dengan dia, menyakitkan hati saja.*

3.3.3 Fungsi

Fungsi sufiks [-in] dalam DJ dapat dikatakan sebagai berikut:

- a. memverbalakan jenis kata yang berasal dari kata sifat, misalnya, contoh nomor (43), (44), dan nomor (47) di atas;
- b. tetap membentuk verbal dari jenis kata yang berasal dari jenis kata kerja, misalnya, contoh nomor (45) dan (48) di atas.

Adapun tentang bentuk, arti, dan fungsi simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam DJ, seperti dirumuskan oleh Muhajir, secara ringkas dapat diuraikan seperti di bawah ini.

Bentuk simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam DJ, dari sumber tersebut di atas, dapat diketahui empat macam variasi:

- a. [m-()-in]; bentuk ini akan muncul jika digabungkan dengan morfem dasar yang diawali oleh fonem /p/ dan /b/; misalnya:
- (50) panggil [panggil] – manggilin [manggilin] *memanggil*
- (51) beli [bəli] – mbeliin [mbəliin] *membelikan*
- b. [n-()-in]; bentuk ini akan muncul jika digabungkan dengan morfem dasar yang diawali oleh fonem /t/ dan /d/; misalnya:
- (52) takut [takut] – nakutin [nakutin] *membuat jadi takut*
- (53) diri [diri] – ndiriin [ndiriin] *mendirikan*
- (54) tembak [tembak] – nembak-nembakin [nembak-nembakin] *menembaki*
- c. [ŋ-()-in]; bentuk ini akan muncul jika digabungkan dengan morfem dasar yang diawali oleh fonem /s/ dan /j/; misalnya:
- (55) seberang [səbəraŋ] – nyeberangin [ŋəbəraŋin] *menyeberangkan*
- (56) jelek [jələk] – nyelèk-nyelèkin [ŋələk ŋələkin] *menjelek-jelekan*
- d. [ŋ-()-in]; bentuk ini akan muncul jika digabungkan dengan morfem dasar yang diawali oleh fonem /g/, /l/, /k/, /d/, /j/, /b/, dan fonem vokal antara lain fonem /a/ dan /E/, misalnya:
- (57) gebug [gəbug] – ngegebugin [ŋəgebugin] *memukuli*
- (58) lari [lari] – ngelariin [ŋələriin] *membawa lari*
- (59) keluar [kəluar] – ngeluarin [ŋəluarin] *mengeluarkan*
- (60) duduk [duduk] – ngedudukin [ŋədudukin] *menduduki*
- (61) jelek [jələk] – ngejelèkin [ŋəjələkin] *menjelekan*
- (62) bandel [bandəl] – ngebandelin [ŋəbandəlin] *menjelang dewasa*
- (63) aling [aliŋ] – ngalingin [ŋəliŋin] *menghalangi*
- (64) endah [Endah] – ngèndain [ŋEndain] *mengindahkan*

Menurut Abdul Chaer, arti simulfiks [N-()-in] sejajar dengan simulfiks [m-()-kan] dan [m-()-i] dalam bahasa Indonesia. Macam-macam arti simulfiks tersebut adalah sebagai berikut:

- a. membuat jadi, misalnya:
- (65) Tu orang nakutin guè. *Orang itu membuat saya menjadi takut.*
- b. melakukan kerja untuk orang lain, misalnya:
- (66) Diè mbawain guè ikan ayam. *Dia membawakan saya ikan ayam.*
- c. membawa, misalnya:
- (67) Tu kucing ngelariin ikan. *Kucing itu membawa lari ikan.*
- d. melakukan kerja yang disebut oleh fonem dasar, misalnya:
- (68) Diè lagi ndiriin rume di Bekasi. *Dia sedang mendirikan rumah di Bekasi.*

Jika morfem dasarnya diulang, artinya akan menjadi antara lain sebagai berikut:

a. membuat atau menyebabkan jadi lebih, misalnya:

(69) Kitè nggebolé njelèk-njelèkin orang. *Kita tidak boleh menjelek-jelekkan orang.*

b. menyatakan dilakukan berkali-kali, misalnya:

(70) Diè lagi mbacok-mbacokin tu kayu. *Dia sedang menetak-netak kayu.*

Adapun fungsi simulfiks [N-()-in] adalah untuk memverbalkan baik jenis kata nominal maupun ajektival.

Dalam kaitannya dengan fungsi simulfiks tersebut di atas, dapat ditunjukkan contoh-contoh seperti di bawah ini:

a. dari jenis kata nominal;

(71) satu [satu] - nyatuin [ñatuin] *mendamaikan*

b. dari jenis kata ajektival;

(72) jelek [jələk] - nyelèk-nyelèkin [ñələk-ñələkin] *menjelek-jelekkan*

(73) bantu [bantu] - mbantuin [mbantuin] *membantu.*

4. PERBANDINGAN TENTANG BENTUK, ARTI, DAN FUNGSI SUFIKS [-in] DAN SIMULFIKS [N-()-in] DALAM DIALEK JAKARTA DENGAN YANG TERDAPAT DALAM BAHASA BALI

Dalam pembicaraan berikutnya secara berturut-turut penulis akan memperbandingkan kedua macam afiks tersebut di atas yang terdapat dalam DJ dengan yang ada pada bahasa Bali.

4.1 Sufiks [-in] dalam dialek Jakarta dan bahasa Bali

4.1.1 Bentuk

Dari pemerian tentang sufiks [-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ dan BB pada bagian 3. di atas, dapat dibuat dengan perbandingan tentang sufiks tersebut yang terdapat dalam DJ dengan yang ada dalam BB, seperti terlihat pada Tabel 2, berikut.

Dengan memperhatikan cara kerja Mary R. Haas (1978:34-35), bentuk sufiks tersebut aslinya adalah sufiks [-in]. Variasi di Bali lebih banyak daripada yang diketemukan dalam DJ.

Tabel 2			
Sufiks	Bentuk (Variasi)	Fonem akhir morfem dasar (yang dilekati sufiks itu)	Contoh
<u>-in</u> (DJ)	<u>-in</u>	Semua fonem konsonan dan fonem vokal, kecuali fonem vokal /E/ dan /i/	ambil <u>in</u> (35)
	<u>-Ain</u>	Fonem vokal /E/	lup <u>Ain</u> (37)
	<u>-?in</u>	Fonem vokal /i/	beli' <u>in</u> (39)
<u>-in</u> (BB)	<u>-in</u>	Semua fonem konsonan	tepuk <u>in</u> (6)
	<u>-nin</u>	Semua fonem vokal, kecuali fonem /ə/	isi <u>inin</u> (1)
	<u>-?in</u>	Semua fonem vokal, kecuali fonem /ə/ (untuk dialek tertentu)	isi' <u>in</u> (1)
	<u>-en</u>	Fonem /ə/ (terjadi sandi)	icen <u>en</u> (10)

4.1.2 Arti

Tabel 3		
Sufiks	Artinya	Contoh
<u>-in</u> (DJ)	1) menyebabkan jadi;	betul <u>in</u> (43)
	2) menyatakan imperiatif;	ambil <u>in</u> (45)
	3) dibuat lebih; dan	gede-gede <u>in</u> (47)
	4) menyatakan intensitas	liat-liat <u>in</u> (48)
<u>-in</u> (BB)	1) menyebabkan jadi;	jeje <u>hin</u> (18)
	2) menyatakan imperatif;	tanem <u>in</u> (14)
	3) dibuat lebih;	geden <u>in</u> (22)
	4) menyatakan intensitas; dan	jagur <u>in</u> (12)
	5) melakukan perbuatan atau upacara seperti yang disebutkan kata dasar	oton <u>in</u> (20)

Ternyata dalam bidang arti pun sufiks [-in] pada kedua bahasa tersebut memiliki persamaan. Hanya arti yang kelima dalam bahasa Bali masih tetap bertahan sampai saat ini karena mengandung makna yang khusus dan tetap dipergunakan sampai saat ini.

4.1.3 Fungsi

Baik dalam DJ maupun dalam BB, sufiks [-in] berfungsi untuk memverbalkan jenis kata yang masuk kelompok nominal dan ajektival. Contoh-contohnya dapat dilihat kembali pada bagian 3. di atas.

Dari segi bentuk, arti, dan fungsi ternyata sufiks [-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ hampir sama dengan bentuk, arti, dan fungsi sufiks itu yang terdapat dalam BB. Perbedaan yang muncul merupakan variasi dari yang ada, misalnya, perbedaan yang ada pada bentuk serta arti—merupakan suatu hal yang wajar dalam perkembangan bahasa.

Dari segi persamaan-persamaan tersebut, timbul dua macam masalah yang perlu mendapat jawaban, yaitu apakah DJ berinduk pada bahasa Bali atau meminjam beberapa unsur bahasa Bali termasuk unsur sufiks [-in].

Kemungkinan yang pertama merupakan hal yang tidak mungkin karena DJ merupakan salah satu dialek bahasa Melayu, sedangkan bahasa Bali merupakan kelompok bahasa Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa. Kemungkinan yang kedua adalah yang mungkin sehingga bahasa Bali dalam hubungan tersebut meminjamkan beberapa unsur bahasa, termasuk sufiks [-in] kepada DJ.

4.2 Simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam dialek Jakarta dan bahasa Bali

Dari pemerian tentang simulfiks [N-()-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ dan BB pada bagian 3. di atas, dapat dibuat bagan perbandingan antara simulfiks [N-()-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ dan yang ada dalam BB seperti terlihat pada bagan berikut ini.

4.2.1 Bentuk

Tabel 4				
Simulfiks	Variasi bentuk	fonem awal morfem dasar	Contoh	
DJ [N-()-in]	[m-()-in]	p dan b	<u>manggilin</u>	(50)
			<u>mbeliin</u>	(51)
	[n-()-in]	t dan d	<u>nakutin</u>	(52)
			<u>ndiriin</u>	(53)
	[ñ-()-in]	s dan j	<u>nyeberangin</u>	(55)
			<u>nyelekin</u>	(56)
	[ŋ-()-in]	b, l, d, j, k, g, a, E, o	<u>ngebandelin</u>	(62)
			<u>ngelariin</u>	(58)
			<u>ngedudukin</u>	(60)
			<u>ngejelekin</u>	(61)
			<u>ngeluarin</u>	(59)
			<u>ngegebugin</u>	(57)
			<u>ngapain</u>	(74)
			<u>ngendain</u>	(62)
			<u>ngolehin</u>	(75)
BB [N-()-in]	[m-()-in]	p dan b	<u>musinginin</u>	(25)
			<u>merekin</u>	(26)
	[n-()-in]	t dan d	<u>niukin</u>	(27)
			<u>nalemin</u>	(28)
	[n-()-in]	s dan j	<u>nyebuhin</u>	(76)
			<i>menyebabkan biru</i>	
			<u>nyelekin</u>	(77)
	[-()-in]	k, g, dan fonem vokal	<i>menjelekkkan</i>	
			<u>ngenyelin</u>	(78)
			<i>melelahkan</i>	
<u>ngelemin</u>			(79)	
<i>menyebabkan sakit</i>				
<u>ngesokin</u>	(80)			
<i>menyesakkan</i>				

Dari contoh-contoh itu ternyata bentuk simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam DJ sama dengan bentuk simulfiks [N-()-in] yang ada dalam BB. Perbedaannya terletak pada luluh dan tidaknya simulfiks tersebut. Dalam DJ peluluhan bentuk simulfiks terjadi jika digabungkan dengan konsonan tajam (konsonan tak bersuara), yaitu berjumlah tiga buah. Konsonan tersebut adalah /p/, /t/, dan /k/. Lihatlah contoh nomor (50), (52), dan (59), sedangkan penggabungan dengan konsonan lainnya, fonem awal morfem dasar tetap seperti semula.

Dalam bahasa Bali, simulfiks [N-()-in] jika digabungkan dengan morfem dasar yang diawali dengan konsonan, akan selalu mengalami peluluhan (perhatikan contoh-contoh pada bagan tersebut di atas).

Mengingat data tersebut di atas, simulfiks [N-()-in] pada DJ belum terpadu sepenuhnya karena peluluhan hanya terjadi dengan morfem dasar yang diawali oleh konsonan tajam.

4.2.2 Arti

Arti simulfiks [N-()-in] dalam DJ dan BB seperti dijelaskan pada bagian 3. di atas, dapat digambarkan seperti pada bagan di bawah ini.

Tabel 5		
Sufiks	Artinya	Contoh
DJ [N-()-in] (morfem dasar diulang)	1) membuat jadi;	<u>nakutin</u> (65)
	2) melakukan pekerjaan untuk orang lain;	<u>mbawain</u> (66)
	3) membawa; dan	<u>nelariin</u> (67)
	4) melakukan pekerjaan yang disebut morfem dasar	<u>ndiriin</u> (68)
	5) membuat jadi atau menyebabkan lebih; dan	<u>nyelèk-nyelèkin</u> (69)
	6) menyatakan berkali-kali dilakukan	<u>mbacok-mbacokin</u> (70)
BB [N-()-in]	1) memberi yang dikaitkan oleh morfem dasar;	<u>ngulitin</u> (29)
	2) memasang yang dikatakan morfem dasar;	<u>musingin</u> (25)
	3) menyebabkan seperti yang dikatakan morfem dasar; dan	<u>ngenitin</u> (30)
	4) membuat jadi lebih	<u>nalemin</u> (28)

Artinya yang muncul pada bentuk-bentuk yang tidak luluh seperti pada nomor (66), (67), dan (68) merupakan arti yang tidak ada dalam bahasa Bali. Hal ini mungkin dikarenakan bahwa bentuk itu memang merupakan bentukan baru yang belum luluh sepenuhnya sehingga membentuk arti yang tidak sama dengan bentukan yang ada dalam BB.

4.2.3 Fungsi

Fungsi simulfiks [N-()-in], baik yang terdapat dalam DJ maupun yang ada dalam BB, berfungsi untuk memverbalikan jenis kata nominal dan ajektival. Contoh-contohnya seperti yang tampak pada nomor (29) dan (30) untuk BB serta contoh nomor (71), (72), dan (73) untuk DJ.

5. KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan pembahasan pada pembicaraan sebelumnya, dapatlah dibuat kesimpulan sebagai berikut:

1. Pembuktian dari segi pemerian bentuk, arti, dan fungsi sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ, ternyata memiliki persamaan-persamaan dengan kedua afiks tersebut yang ada dalam BB;
2. Pada tahun 1815 (lihat Tabel 1), penutur DJ terdiri dari 7.720 orang yang berasal dari suku bangsa Bali. Jumlah tersebut merupakan jumlah terbesar di antara suku bangsa pembentuk penutur DJ. Oleh karena itu, diperkirakan bahasa orang Bali yang mereka pergunakan dari daerah asalnya (Bali) akan memiliki pengaruh yang cukup besar;
3. Pengaruh BB terhadap DJ dalam bidang kosa kata sangat tinggi, yaitu sekitar 25% (?);
4. Pengaruh bahasa lain yang juga memiliki sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in], yaitu bahasa Sasak terhadap DJ belum dapat dibuktikan;
5. Satu-satunya bahasa yang mempengaruhi DJ dalam bidang sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-()-in] tidak lain adalah BB.

CATATAN

1. Penjelasan tentang kedua afiks tersebut dapat dibaca lebih lanjut masing-masing pada tulisan yang berjudul 'Morfologi Bahasa Bali' (Fakultas Sastra Universitas Udayana, 1976/1977:95-99); pada 'Morfologi dan Sintaksis Bahasa Sasak' (Tim Peneliti Fakultas Sastra Universitas Udayana, 1978/1979:57-59); pada 'Morfologi Dialek Jakarta: Afiksasi dan Reduplikasi' (Muhajir 1977: 162-179); serta pada *Kamus dialek Jakarta* (Abdul Chaer 1976).

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PERANAN BAHASA INDONESIA VARIETAS JAWA BARAT DALAM PROSES PEROLEHAN BAHASA INDONESIA OLEH ANAK-ANAK YANG BERBAHASA PERTAMA BAHASA SUNDA DI KOTA BANDUNG

Husein Widjajakusumah

BAHASA INDONESIA DAN BAHASA SUNDA

Bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Sunda adalah dua bahasa dari rumpun Austronesia yang sekarang di Jawa Barat sedang berkontak secara intensif, apalagi di kota Bandung sebagai ibu kota propinsi ini. Seperti diketahui, bahasa Indonesia adalah bahasa persatuan, bahasa resmi kenegaraan, dan bahasa nasional bangsa Indonesia yang sekarang berjumlah lebih dari 140.000.000 jiwa, sedangkan bahasa Sunda di Jawa Barat dipergunakan oleh kurang lebih 22.000.000 jiwa. Setelah bahasa Jawa, bahasa Sunda adalah bahasa daerah yang nomor dua besar jumlah pemakainya di Indonesia; dengan demikian merupakan bahasa yang cukup penting di antara bahasa-bahasa rumpun Austronesia.

Bahasa Sunda sebagai salah satu bahasa daerah di negeri ini berfungsi sebagai bahasa keluarga, bahasa pergaulan intra daerah dan intra suku, bahasa pendukung kebudayaan daerah, yaitu kebudayaan Sunda, dan bahasa pengantar di kelas-kelas pertama di Sekolah Dasar daerah-daerah di Jawa Barat yang memandangnya perlu. Sebagai mata pelajaran bahasa ini juga diajarkan beberapa tahun lamanya di sekolah, terutama di Sekolah Dasar. Sebagai bahasa daerah, bahasa Sunda adalah satu unsur kebudayaan nasional, dilindungi oleh negara sesuai dengan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945.

Kontak bahasa antara bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Sunda tersebut di atas memegang peranan penting dalam proses perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda. Adapun varietas bahasa Indonesia yang terutama berperan dalam proses ini adalah bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat, yang akan dideskripsikan ciri-ciri khasnya secukupnya di bawah nanti.

MASYARAKAT DWIBAHASA INDONESIA-SUNDA DI KOTAMADYA BANDUNG

Kota Bandung berada di daerah yang penduduknya berbahasa Sunda. Penduduk aslinya adalah orang-orang yang berbahasa Sunda. Pada dasarnya, dahulu di kota ini terdapat masyarakat ekabahasa Sunda yang sekarang sedang berubah menjadi masyarakat dwibahasa Sunda-Indonesia. Hal ini terjadi karena sejak lama di

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.4: *Thematic variation*, 355-366. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-77, 1983.

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kota ini terdapat banyak pendatang yang dalam pergaulannya dengan penduduk asli mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia, yang dahulu oleh penduduk Bandung dikenal sebagai bahasa Melayu.

Dengan demikian, di kota ini bahasa Indonesia bertemu ataupun berkontak dengan bahasa Sunda, dan dalam kontak itu timbullah para dwibahasawan Sunda-Indonesia yang merupakan anggota-anggota masyarakat dwibahasa tersebut di atas.

Pengaruh bahasa Indonesia di kota Bandung makin lama makin kuat. Pemerintahan, ketentaraan, kepolisian, sekolah-sekolah dan perguruan tinggi, partai politik, dunia perusahaan, media massa, dan lain-lain, terutama mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia.

Menurut pengalaman sehari-hari yang kami dapat sebagai penduduk kota ini, dan berdasarkan hasil penelitian yang kami lakukan mengenai bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Sunda di Bandung (Widjajakusumah 1976 dan 1980) diperoleh gambaran bahwa masyarakat bahasa di kota ini bersifat majemuk, yaitu terdiri dari orang-orang yang pada dasarnya hanya mempergunakan bahasa Sunda antara sesamanya dalam kehidupan mereka, orang-orang yang dwibahasa Sunda-Indonesia, ialah mereka yang biasa mempergunakan bahasa Sunda dan bahasa Indonesia antara sesamanya, dan orang-orang yang hanya mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia dalam kehidupan sehari-harinya.

Kelompok yang disebut pertama terutama terdiri dari rakyat jelata yang bahasa pertamanya bahasa Sunda, biasanya berpendidikan dan berstatus sosial-ekonomi rendah. Di samping itu, dalam kelompok ini terdapat pula orang-orang dengan pendidikan dan status social yang lebih tinggi; biasanya mereka termasuk generasi yang agak tua.

Kelompok yang disebut kedua adalah kelompok yang paling besar jumlahnya dalam masyarakat bahasa di kota ini, kebanyakan terdiri dari orang-orang yang bahasa pertamanya adalah bahasa Sunda. Pendidikan, pergaulan, dan keperluan sehari-hari menyebabkan mereka biasa mempergunakan bahasa Sunda dan bahasa Indonesia antara sesamanya. Mereka juga biasa mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia dalam kegiatan rutin dengan orang-orang yang tidak biasa berbahasa Sunda.

Kelompok ketiga hanya pandai berbahasa Indonesia, tidak pandai dan tidak biasa mempergunakan salah satu bahasa daerah.

Di samping ketiga kelompok ini ada sejumlah relatif kecil orang-orang Indonesia yang di samping pandai berbahasa Indonesia, Sunda, dan atau bahasa daerah lain, juga pandai berbahasa asing.

Orang asing mempergunakan bahasa mereka sendiri antara sesamanya dan memakai bahasa Indonesia pada orang Indonesia. Ada satu dua di antara mereka yang dapat berbahasa Sunda meskipun tak selancar bahasa Indonesia. Dengan timbulnya para dwibahasawan Sunda-Indonesia, maka terjadilah kontak antara kedua bahasa itu pada mereka. (Bandingkan Weinreich 1953:1). Dari kontak itu timbul suatu varietas bahasa Indonesia yang sangat dipengaruhi oleh bahasa Sunda. Varietas ini kami sebut bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat, disingkat BI Jabar. Di samping pengaruh dari bahasa Sunda kode ini juga menunjukkan adanya pengaruh dari bahasa Melayu Jakarta. Sesuai dengan Pride dan Holmes (1972:11, 14), yang kami maksudkan dengan istilah 'kode' di sini adalah bahasa atau salah satu varietasnya.

Dalam kehidupan sehari-hari orang Bandung, terutama di luar suasana resmi, kode ini banyak sekali dipergunakan. Kode-kode lain yang umumnya dipergunakan di kota ini adalah bahasa Sunda kasar, bahasa Sunda halus, bahasa Indonesia baku, dan bahasa Sunda yang sangat banyak dicampuri oleh BI Jabar.

Pada umumnya penduduk kota Bandung mengetahui norma-norma sosial mengenai pemakaian kode-kode ini, yaitu siapa pemakainya, kode apa dan kepada siapa, di mana, dan kapan. (Bandingkan Fishman 1970:2). Di antara kode-kode ini ada satu kode yang boleh dikatakan dapat dipergunakan di semua lapisan masyarakat di seluruh kota ini, yaitu BI Jabar. Dengan demikian, dapatlah dikatakan bahwa masyarakat kota Bandung merupakan satu masyarakat bahasa. (Bandingkan Fishman 1970:28).

Bahasa Indonesia baku dipergunakan dalam suasana resmi keindonesiaan ataupun kenegaraan, misalnya, dalam suasana dinas di kantor, dalam perkuliahan di universitas, dan dalam pelajaran-pelajaran di sekolah-sekolah.

BI Jabar dipergunakan dalam suasana santai sehari-hari terutama suasana keindonesiaan, misalnya, oleh para mahasiswa dan pelajar berbagai suku di luar perkuliahan dan di luar kelas, oleh para tetangga, di pasar, di toko-toko tempat diperlukannya pemakaian bahasa Indonesia antara anggota-anggota berbagai suku.

Dari pengamatan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari selama kira-kira sepuluh tahun terakhir, kode ini makin banyak dipergunakan antara orang-orang Sunda antara kaum keluarga di rumah, terutama di kalangan intelektual tertentu di kota Bandung ini. Kalangan ini juga sering mempergunakan bahasa Sunda yang banyak sekali dipengaruhi oleh BI Jabar.

Kebanyakan orang Sunda di Kota ini mempergunakan bahasa Sunda dengan sesamanya dalam bidang dan suasana apabila dirasakan tidak perlu mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia. Tidak jarang pula ada orang non-Sunda mempergunakan bahasa Sunda dengan orang Sunda. Kadang-kadang ada orang non-Sunda mempergunakan bahasa ini dengan orang non-Sunda dalam peristiwa bicara apabila ada orang Sunda.

Sejak mulai adanya BI Jabar, orang-orang yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda pun tidak jarang mempergunakan kode ini antara sesamanya, terutama dalam peristiwa bicara apabila ada orang lain yang dianggap tidak dapat atau tidak mempergunakan bahasa Sunda.

Kebiasaan ini makin lama makin kuat sehingga sekarang ini di kota Bandung banyak orang Sunda yang biasa mempergunakan BI Jabar antara sesamanya sekalipun tidak ada orang lain dalam peristiwa bicaranya.

Bahasa Indonesia cenderung lebih banyak dipergunakan oleh orang Sunda pada golongan atas ataupun golongan intelektual jika dibandingkan dengan keadaan pada golongan bawah ataupun golongan non-intelektual di kota ini. (Widjajakusumah 1980:24,26). Hal ini antara lain disebabkan oleh golongan atas yang dalam kehidupan sehari-harinya lebih banyak berkontak dengan suku lain daripada golongan bawah, dan lagi kehidupan serta pekerjaan di bidang intelektual pada umumnya mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia.

Di samping itu, bahasa Indonesia juga lebih intensif dipergunakan di daerah dalam kota daripada di daerah pinggiran kota karena di daerah dalam itu terdapat lebih banyak penduduk yang non-Sunda jika dibandingkan dengan di daerah pinggiran. (Widjajakusumah 1980:24,26).

CIRI-CIRI UTAMA BAHASA INDONESIA VARIETAS JAWA BARAT

BI Jabar mempunyai beberapa ciri utama yang membedakannya dari bahasa Indonesia baku. Ciri-ciri ini merupakan pengaruh dari bahasa Sunda dan ada juga pengaruh dari bahasa Melayu Jakarta.

Pengaruh-pengaruh ini terutama terdapat di bidang ucapan dan intonasi. Ada pula pengaruh di bidang morfologi, sintaksis, semantik, dan kosa kata.

Di bidang ucapan fonem segmental dan intonasi, yang paling jelas terdengar adalah pengaruh di bidang ucapan vokal yang dalam bahasa Sunda tidak mengenal varian-varian seperti yang, misalnya, terdengar dalam bahasa Jawa atau bahasa Melayu di Sumatra Timur. Dengan demikian tidak ada varian-varian vokal yang disebabkan oleh tinggi rendahnya vokal yang bersangkutan.

Dalam bahasa Sunda vokal /i/ dan /u/ selalu merupakan vokal atas, vokal /e/ dan /o/ selalu merupakan vokal tengan-bawah sehingga diucapkan [ɛ] dan [ɔ].

Dengan demikian, misalnya, kata piring selalu diucapkan [pirɪŋ] tidak pernah [pirɪŋ]; [pirɪŋ]; [gunuŋ] selalu diucapkan [gunuŋ] dan tidak pernah [gunuŋ] atau [gunuŋ]. Demikian juga, misalnya, kata sore selalu diucapkan [sɔɾɛ], dan tidak pernah [sɔɾɛ].

Mengenai konsonan, /b/, /d/, dan /g/ pada posisi akhir tetap diucapkan [b], [d], dan [g], tidak pernah [p], [t] dan [k]. Demikian pula /k/ pada posisi akhir selalu diucapkan [k] dan tidak pernah sebagai letupan glotal [ʔ].

Dengan demikian, misalnya, kata sebab selalu diucapkan [səbɐb], dan tak pernah [səbɐp]; abad selalu diucapkan [abad] dan tidak pernah [abat]; bedug selalu diucapkan [bəduŋ] dan tidak pernah [bəduŋ], anak selalu diucapkan [anak] dan tidak pernah [anaʔ].

Selain itu, /y/ pada diftong turun selalu diucapkan [y] dan tidak pernah [i] sehingga, misalnya koboɪ selalu diucapkan [kɔbɔy], dan tidak pernah [kɔbɔi].

Ada kecenderungan untuk mengucapkan diftong turun au dan ai dalam bahasa Indonesia baku menjadi [ɔw] dan [ɛy] dalam BI Jabar sehingga, misalnya, kata kacau diucapkan [kacɔw], dan kata pantai diucapkan [pantɛy].

Dalam ucapan vokal pada posisi akhir dalam suku kata terbuka terdapat pula pengaruh bahasa Sunda, yaitu penambahan [ʔ] atau [h] tanpa mengubah arti. Dengan demikian, misalnya:

/satu/ sering diucapkan [satuʔ]
 /apa/ sering diucapkan [apaʔ]
 /ini/ sering diucapkan [iniʔ] atau [inɪh]
 /itu/ sering diucapkan [ituʔ] atau [ituh]

Pengaruh intonasi bahasa Sunda pada BI Jabar besar sekali; kalau kita mendengar BI varietas ini dari jauh dan fonem-fonem segmentalnya, tak terdengar jelas, kita mengira bahwa kode yang terdengar itu adalah bahasa Sunda.

Di bidang morfologi pengaruh bahasa Sunda pada BI Jabar adalah terutama jarang dipergunakannya awalan me- pada bentuk dengan nasalisasi sebagai ciri kata kerja aktif, dan juga jarang dipergunakannya awalan ber-. Selain itu, awalan me- dalam posisi tertentu diqanti oleh awalan nge-. Dengan demikian, dalam BI Jabar, misalnya, sering terdengar ngambil alih-alih *mengambil*, jalan alih-alih *berjalan*, ngedorong alih-alih *mendorong*, dan lain-lain.

Hal-hal lain mengenai interferensi di bidang morfologi dari bahasa Sunda ke dalam BI Jabar ini dapat kita temukan dalam karya Rusyana (1975:84 dst.).

Di bidang sintaksis pengaruh bahasa Sunda pada BI Jabar adalah terutama pemakaian bentuk di- pasif ditambah oleh pada persona pertama, kedua, dan ketiga, pemakaian kombinasi morfosintaksis dike-kan, dan pemakaian beberapa partikel. Dengan demikian, kita dapat mendengar, misalnya, dibawa oleh saya;

dibeli oleh kamu; diambil oleh dia, dikeibukan oleh saya. (*Diberikan pada ibu oleh saya, dibawa pada ibu oleh saya*). Dikedikan oleh kamu. Dikesanakan saja. Selanjutnya:

Rumahnya teh bagus sekali. (*Rumahnya 'tuh bagus sekali*).

Saya mah/sih engga bisa datang. (*Saya sih tak bisa datang*).

Jangan begitu atuh. (*Jangan begitu dong*).

Ini buku yang kemaren tea. (*Inilah buku yang kemarin itu*. Bandingkan tea dengan kae dalam bahasa Jawa).

Pengaruh di bidang semantik tidak banyak, misalnya: Mana yang kamu?, artinya: *Mana kepunyaan kamu?*, Partikel yang dalam bahasa Sunda diterjemahkan nu, tetapi nu juga berarti kepunyaan. Contoh lain lagi:

Tuh di tinggi, artinya: *Itu di atas*.

Kata *tinggi* dan *atas* kedua-duanya diterjemahkan dengan kata luhur dalam bahasa Sunda. Oleh karena itu, terjadilah kesalahan seperti yang diuraikan di atas.

Pengaruh di bidang kosa kata disebabkan oleh pemakaian kata-kata khas Sunda atau yang mempunyai konotasi tertentu yang tak ada ekivalennya dalam bahasa Indonesia, atau disebabkan oleh karena seseorang tidak tahu suatu kata Indonesia, misalnya, Dulu orang Sunda banyak yang memakai bendo (*ikat kepala*); Sekolah kamu kalau maen kasti selalu keok (*kalah betul*); Si Kabayan diajak ke sawah mitohanya (*mertuanya*).

Di samping pengaruh-pengaruh dari bahasa tersebut di atas, dalam BI Jabar terdapat pengaruh dari bahasa Sunda yang kebetulan ada juga dalam bahasa Melayu Jakarta, misalnya ucapan kata saja menjadi aja atau ajah; kata sudah menjadi udah; kata sama menjadi ama. Juga penggantian kata oleh menjadi sama.

Pengaruh khas bahasa Melayu Jakarta ke dalam BI Jabar, yaitu sering dipakainya akhiran -in untuk pengganti akhiran -kan dan -i. Juga pemakaian partikel dong dan deh.

PERANAN BI VARIETAS JAWA BARAT DALAM PEROLEHAN BAHASA INDONESIA

Di bawah ini kami akan mencoba membicarakan peranan BI Jabar ditinjau secara sosiolinguistik dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa kedua oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa bahasa Sunda di Kotamadya Bandung.

Sejalan dengan pendapat Lado (1964:38), yang kami maksudkan dengan memperoleh bahasa kedua adalah pada dasarnya memperoleh kemampuan untuk mempergunakan strukturnya dalam rangka perbendaharaan kata yang umum dalam kondisi komunikasi normal antara penutur asli pada kecepatan percakapan biasa.

Akan dibicarakan kejadian-kejadian sosial kebahasaan tempat anak Sunda di Bandung memperoleh bahasa Indonesia, yang dalam hal ini BI Jabar memainkan peranan yang penting. Anak Sunda di kota Bandung pada umumnya belajar bahasa Indonesia secara formal dari gurunya di sekolah dan banyak di antaranya secara informal dari lingkungan sosialnya di rumah dan di masyarakat (Widjajakusumah 1980:4).

Bahasa Indonesia yang didapatnya secara formal adalah bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat, yang bukan hanya diperoleh di luar sekolah, tetapi juga di sekolah di luar kelas dari teman-teman. Para guru pun dalam suasana santai di luar kelas kadang-kadang mempergunakan kode ini di samping bahasa Indonesia baku dan bahasa Sunda.

Seperti dikatakan di atas pemakaian BI Jabar di kota Bandung dalam belasan tahun terakhir ini makin bertambah intensif. Makin banyak keluarga Sunda yang pada dasarnya lebih banyak mempergunakan kode ini daripada bahasa Sunda dalam kehidupan mereka sehari-hari, juga di rumah antara suami isteri, orang tua dan anak, antara saudara dengan saudara.

Ada dua faktor utama yang menyebabkan hal ini, yaitu sebagai berikut.

1. Makin banyaknya orang non-Sunda yang datang dan menetap di Bandung.
2. Pemakaian BI Jabar dirasakan lebih praktis daripada bahasa Sunda karena dalam bahasa Sunda terdapat tingkat-tingkat bahasa (*undak-usuk*) sedangkan dalam BI Jabar tidak ada hal ini.

Orang-orang non-Sunda yang datang dan menetap di Bandung membawakan bahasa Indonesia dalam berbagai posisi dan peran, terutama sebagai rekan, teman sekolah, dan tetangga. Dalam posisi itu mereka sering ada dalam peristiwa bicara antara orang-orang Sunda, yang karena tenggang rasa lalu mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia antara mereka sendiri.

Dalam rangka perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda hal ini dirasakan di sekolah antara teman-teman, di daerah ketetanggaaan terutama di daerah-dalam kota, dan di rumah terutama pada kalangan atas.

Pemakaian bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat di kalangan Sunda yang banyak mempergunakannya juga disebabkan karena kode ini membebaskan mereka dari pilihan antara bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus yang harus mereka lakukan kalau mereka mempergunakan bahasa Sunda.

Seperti kita ketahui, dalam bahasa Jawa pada dasarnya ada dua tingkat bahasa, yaitu *krama* dan *ngoko* (Bandingkan Clifford Geertz dalam Fishman 1968: 282) yang dapat diperluas menjadi tiga, bahkan delapan tingkat (Uhlenbeck 1976: 442, 443). Demikian pula dalam bahasa Sunda ada dua tingkat *lemes* (halus) dan *kasar* yang dapat diperluas menjadi tiga, bahkan lima tingkat, ialah: (1) kasar sekali, (2) kasar, (3) halus yang dipergunakan dalam hubungan dengan orang yang menghormat, (4) halus yang dipergunakan dalam hubungan dengan orang yang dihormat, dan (5) halus sekali.

Karena adanya tingkat-tingkat bahasa ini, kalau orang berbicara dalam bahasa Sunda, seperti juga dalam bahasa Jawa, maka ia harus selalu memperhatikan hubungan-hubungan status sosial antara ia sebagai pembicara dengan yang diajak bicara, dan dengan yang dibicarakan. Demikian juga ia harus memperhatikan hubungan itu antara yang diajak bicara dengan yang dibicarakan. Dalam rangka hubungan-hubungan itu ia juga harus memperhatikan adanya orang ketiga. Di samping itu, unsur intim dan kurang intim, hormat dan kurang hormat antara yang bersangkutan juga memainkan peranan penting.

Ini semua harus secara pantas diekspresikan dalam tingkat-tingkat bahasa yang dipergunakan, yang melibatkan pemakaian berbagai kata untuk satu pengertian. Sebagai contoh, seorang isteri berkata pada suaminya di dekat mertuanya bahwa anak pembantunya sudah ingin makan: "Anak si bibi tos hoyongeun neda". Ia mempergunakan bahasa halus pada suaminya karena ada mertuanya. Kalau tak ada mertuanya itu ia akan mempergunakan bahasa kasar (yang dapat juga disebut bahasa wajar) pada suaminya itu sebagai tanda intimitas, dan akan berkata: "Anak si bibi geus hayangeun dahar".

Kalau ia berbicara tentang anak Pak Bupati, atasan suaminya, ia akan berkata: "Putra Pa Bupati tos palayeun tuang". Hal ini terjadi kalau ia tidak

yakin bahwa tidak ada orang ketiga yang mendengar. Kalau tak ada orang ketiga, bergantung pada perasaan hormatnya pada Pak Bupati ketika ia berbicara, ia akan berbicara dengan bahasa halus atau dengan bahasa kasar pada suaminya tentang anak atasannya yang ingin makan itu.

Dapat dimengerti bahwa orang harus berhati-hati berbicara dalam bahasa Sunda agar jangan sampai ada pihak-pihak yang merasa kurang dihargai, atau sebaliknya, agar jangan sampai terlalu meninggikan seseorang yang menurut hubungan posisi sosial itu tak pantas ditinggikan seperti itu.

Sebelum penggunaan bahasa Indonesia secara intensif di kalangan dwibahasa Sunda-Indonesia di Bandung, penggunaan bentuk-bentuk halus dalam bahasa Sunda oleh orang-orang yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda berjalan secara otomatis karena sudah dibiasakan sejak kecil, kecuali mungkin dalam peristiwa bicara apabila salah seorang pesertanya telah mencapai kenaikan cepat di tangga sosial, misalnya kalau anak-anak yang sudah mulai dewasa berbicara dengan seorang bekas pembantu rumah tangga yang menjadi istri seorang yang cukup terhormat. Dalam hal ini anak-anak itu akan ragu-ragu dalam pemilihan bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus ketika berbicara dengan wanita itu.

Keragu-raguan semacam ini menjadi lebih nyata setelah bahasa Indonesia, terutama varietas Jawa Barat, masuk lebih intensif ke dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Hal ini disebabkan karena kode ini memberikan kemungkinan untuk mengambil jalan tengah, jalan netral, tak usah memilih-milih antara bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus.

Hal ini dapat didengar dari alih kode dari bahasa Sunda ke bahasa Indonesia dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, atau dari pemakaian kata-kata Indonesia dalam bahasa Sunda. Dengan masuknya bahasa Indonesia dalam kehidupan sehari-hari orang Sunda di Bandung, maka kadang-kadang pemakaian bentuk kasar dalam bahasa Sunda dirasakan terlalu kasar, sedangkan pemakaian bentuk halus dirasakan terlalu halus.

Misalnya, dulu biasa saja kalau seorang ibu mempergunakan bahasa kasar pada anaknya, juga di kalangan intelektual. Misalnya, berkata: "Sing alus diukna" *Yang bagus duduknya*. Sekarang kalimat semacam ini sering dirasakan terlalu kasar. Akan tetapi, untuk berkata: Sing sae calikna, yaitu bentuk halus bagi kalimat di atas, terasa terlalu halus dari seorang ibu pada anaknya, maka ibu itu dapat beralih kode ke bahasa Indonesia: Yang bagus duduknya atau Biar bagus duduknya, atau mengganti kata diuk dengan duduk sehingga ia berkata: Sing alus dudukna.

Penggantian kata-kata Sunda yang memaksakan orang memilih bentuk halus dan kasar oleh kata Indonesia sering sekali dilakukan oleh anak-anak muda yang sebenarnya ingin mempergunakan bahasa Sunda kasar sebagai tanda intimitas dan kesetiakawanan, tetapi khawatir akan dianggap terlalu kasar. Misalnya: Urang makan heula, yu, (*Kita makan dulu, yu*) alih-alih Urang tuang heula, yu. Untuk mempergunakan bentuk halus Urang tuang heula, yu, terasa tidak pantas karena terlalu halus untuk dipergunakan antara sesama teman karib, apalagi di antara para pemuda.

Untuk memberikan gambaran yang lebih jelas mengenai peristiwa-peristiwa bicara yang membawakan bahasa Indonesia, terutama varietas Jawa Barat, pada anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di Bandung, di bawah ini akan diberikan lukisan peristiwa-peristiwa kebahasaan yang dapat dilihat dalam rangka etnografi bicara (Dell Hymes 1962, dalam Fishman 1968:101) atau dalam rangka sosiolinguistik yang memperhatikan: Siapa yang mempergunakan, varietas apa dari bahasa apa, kepada siapa, kapan, dan mengenai apa (Fishman 1970:2).

Kita ambil sebuah keluarga Sunda yang terdiri dari suami isteri dan empat orang anak. Yang sulung anak perempuan di kelas dua Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP), yang kedua anak lelaki di kelas lima Sekolah Dasar, yang ketiga anak perempuan di Taman Kanak-kanak, dan yang bungsu anak lelaki yang baru berumur dua tahun. Ayah mereka adalah pegawai negeri tingkat menengah, ibunya tidak bekerja kecuali sebagai ibu rumah tangga.

Pada suatu pagi mereka bangun, ayahnya memasang radio transistor mendengarkan warta berita pagi dalam bahasa Indonesia baku. Selesai warta berita penyiar memutar lagu-lagu pop dengan banyak komentar dalam bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat yang didengarkan oleh ketiga anak yang akan pergi ke sekolah sambil mereka mempersiapkan diri untuk berangkat.

Percakapan di rumah pada dasarnya mempergunakan bahasa Sunda, tetapi anak sulung yang di SMP itu kalau menceritakan keperluannya di sekolah atau menyampaikan pesan gurunya sering mempergunakan kalimat-kalimat atau frase-frase dalam BI Jabar. Mendengar anaknya mempergunakan BI itu ayahnya pun kadang-kadang menjawabnya dalam kode itu.

Anak yang duduk di kelas lima Sekolah Dasar kadang-kadang mempergunakan BI juga meskipun tak sesering kakaknya. Misalnya, ketika ia ditanya perlu buku bacaan jilid yang seberapa, ia berkata: "Jilid enem" dan bukan Jilid geneb. Atau ketika menyampaikan pesan Bu Guru, ia berkata: "Enggak boleh jajan di luar" dan bukan *Teu kenging jajan di luar*.

Ibu mereka sambil membantu anak yang duduk di Taman Kanak-kanak kadang-kadang mempergunakan kalimat-kalimat atau frase-frase BI yang ia tahu sering dipergunakan di Taman Kanak-kanak itu, misalnya: *Tidak boleh nakal*, di samping *Teu kenging nakal*, atau *Duduknya yang manis*; tempat makanan, tempat minuman, dan lain-lain yang dalam bahasa Sunda adalah: *Calikna sing sae* atau *Diukna sing alus*, tempat katuangan atau tempat kedaharan, tempat *leueuteun* atau tempat *inumeun*, bergantung pada apakah dikatakan dalam tingkat halus atau kasar. Pemakaian kalimat atau frase dari dunia Taman Kanak-kanak dalam BI oleh ibu itu menghindarkannya untuk memilih antara bentuk halus dan bentuk kasar, di samping membiasakan anak pada bahasa Indonesia yang menjadi bahasa pengantar di Taman Kanak-kanak.

Di sekolah suasana kebahasaan pada dasarnya adalah bahwa dalam pelajaran di kelas dipergunakan bahasa Indonesia baku, kecuali dalam pelajaran bahasa daerah yang dalam hubungan ini bahasa Sunda merupakan bahasa pengantar. Akan tetapi, di kelas dipergunakan juga bahasa Indonesia varietas Jabar kalau guru ingin menyampaikan sesuatu secara santai atau ingin lebih dekat pada suasana anak-anak, misalnya, kalau ia menegur atau memuji anak. Untuk maksud ini kadang-kadang dipergunakan juga kata, frase, atau kalimat Sunda.

Di kelas anak-anak kalau perlu berbicara dengan teman-temannya mempergunakan bahasa Sunda atau BI Jabar pada teman Sunda atau BI Jabar saja pada teman non-Sunda. Penggunaan BI Jabar makin sering dipergunakan di Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama dan Sekolah Lanjutan Atas jika dibandingkan dengan di Sekolah Dasar. Dari pengamatan sehari-hari banyak anak Sunda di Bandung ini ketika mereka masuk perguruan tinggi jauh lebih banyak mempergunakan BI Jabar dengan sesama teman Sunda daripada bahasa Sunda.

Di sekolah, di luar kelas di kebanyakan Sekolah Dasar Negeri di Bandung lebih banyak terdengar bahasa Sunda daripada BI Jabar, tetapi di beberapa Sekolah Dasar Negeri yang 'favorit', tempat banyak terdapat murid dan guru dari suku lain di samping suku Sunda, lebih banyak terdengar BI Jabar daripada bahasa Sunda, juga ketika anak-anak sedang beristirahat dan bermain di luar kelas.

Ketika anak-anak tersebut di atas pulang dari sekolah, mereka naik kendaraan umum, yang disebut 'Honda', dan di sana mereka mendengar BI Jabar dipergunakan oleh banyak penumpang di samping bahasa Sunda. Mereka melihat bahwa banyak pelajar Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama, Sekolah Lanjutan Atas, dan Mahasiswa sering mempergunakan BI Jabar ini, dan merekapun mencoba mempergunakannya antara sesamanya. Semacam 'gengsi sosial' dimiliki BI Jabar ini sebagai tanda pelajar atau mahasiswa, tanda keterpelajaran, kekotaan, keindonesiaan. Di samping itu, seperti dikatakan di atas, BI Jabar ini membebaskan mereka dari keragu-raguan memilih antara bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus dalam bahasa Sunda dengan sedikit banyak 'sangsi sosialnya' kalau seseorang salah pilih sehingga pemakaian bahasa Sundanya dapat membawakan rasa kagok.

Sampai batas tertentu penggunaan BI Jabar memberikan rasa intimitas antara orang-orang Sunda seperti mereka mempergunakan bahasa Sunda kasar tanpa mendapat sosial 'terlalu kasar'. Di samping itu, penggunaan BI Jabar itu membebaskan mereka dari satu pendapat sosial lainnya, ialah 'eksklusif Sunda'. Akan tetapi, penggunaan BI Jabar alih-alih bahasa Sunda meminta sedikit banyak pengorbanan rasa kesundaan, yang bagi banyak kaum intelektual Sunda di Bandung tampaknya tidak merupakan pengorbanan yang terlalu besar.

Sesampai di rumah, anak-anak tersebut di atas melihat-lihat surat kabar tingkat propinsi dalam bahasa Indonesia yang cukup baik, tetapi yang mempunyai rubrik kecil dalam bahasa Indonesia Jawa Barat, dan yang juga teratur menampilkan karikatur dengan komentar dalam kode ini. Kedua-duanya sering dibaca oleh anak-anak itu karena singkat, lucu, dan karena kode yang dipergunakannya begitu dekat dengan varietas bahasa Indonesia yang biasa mereka pergunakan sehari-hari.

Selain koran itu, ada pula koran mingguan dalam bahasa Sunda yang bahasanya sering memperlihatkan pengaruh bahasa Indonesia atau bahasa Melayu Jakarta, yang juga sering dibaca oleh anak-anak.

Anak sulung yang duduk di Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama ketika pulang disertai dua orang temannya, yang seorang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda, sedangkan yang seorang lagi tidak. Percakapan antara tiga orang teman ini kebanyakan dilakukan dalam BI Jabar, yang kadang-kadang diselingi dengan kata, frase, atau kalimat Sunda. Pola pemakaian bahasa seperti ini juga terjadi kalau anak yang duduk di kelas lima Sekolah Dasar membawa teman-teman ke rumah yang di antaranya tidak berbahasa Sunda, dengan perbedaan bahwa pemakaian unsur-unsur Sunda lebih sering dibandingkan dengan pola pemakaian bahasa antara anak-anak Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama itu.

Sore hari kedua anak yang masih duduk di Sekolah Dasar bersama ayah mereka pergi berbelanja di sebuah toko buku. Di sana terdengar bahasa Indonesia Jabar dan bahasa Sunda. Mereka pun mempergunakan kedua kode itu. Pada dasarnya hal itu bergantung pada kode yang dipergunakan oleh pelayan toko kepada mereka. Juga anak yang masih duduk di kelas dua mempergunakan BI Jabar itu di mana perlu, meskipun dengan kalimat atau frase pendek-pendek saja.

Malam hari siaran TV mengekspose mereka lagi terhadap bahasa Indonesia dan kadang-kadang juga terhadap kode ini yang sangat dipengaruhi oleh bahasa Melayu Jakarta, yang mempunyai banyak persamaan dengan BI Jabar.

Demikianlah dalam kehidupan sehari-hari anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di kota Bandung ini banyak sekali diekspose terhadap BI Jabar dan boleh dikatakan secara bermain-main memperoleh kode ini.

Ada beberapa kejadian penting dalam siklus satu tahun di mana anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di Bandung dengan intensif sekali diekspose terhadap BI Jabar ini, yaitu, misalnya, kegiatan-kegiatan berbagai perlombaan di masyarakat setempat dalam rangka perayaan 17 Agustus, kegiatan sekitar mesjid di bulan puasa dan lebaran, perayaan naik kelas di Sekolah Dasar, dan lain-lain.

Selain memperoleh BI Jabar secara informal, anak-anak juga diusahakan secara formal memperoleh BI baku di sekolah. Akan tetapi, karena *exposure* terhadap BI Jabar jauh lebih banyak, dan karena kode ini dirasakan begitu dekat dengan bahasa Sunda, maka anak-anak memperoleh BI Jabar jauh lebih cepat daripada BI baku, sedangkan perolehan BI Jabar mempermudah mereka memperoleh BI baku.

Setelah memperoleh kode ini mereka akan terus mempergunakan BI Jabar dalam situasi-situasi yang pantas untuk pemakaiannya, sedangkan mereka akan mempergunakan BI baku dalam situasi-situasi yang menuntut kode ini sebaiknya digunakan.

Dari seluruh uraian di atas dapat disimpulkan bahwa BI Jabar di kota Bandung adalah sebagai berikut.

1. Membantu diterimanya BI sebagai sarana komunikasi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari;
2. Dalam lingkungan intelektual Sunda tertentu sering dipergunakan di rumah, dan dengan demikian mengakrabkan anak sejak kecil kepada BI;
3. Merupakan bahasa-antara dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia baku oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda;
4. Membebaskan orang dari rasa eksklusifisme Sunda dan mendekatkannya pada suasana keindonesiaan, tetapi masih memberikan warna kesundaan dalam peristiwa-peristiwa bicara;
5. Merupakan salah satu cara untuk memperlihatkan identitas diri sebagai orang Indonesia, khususnya orang Indonesia terpelajar dan sebagai orang kota, dan
6. Membebaskan pembicara dari keharusan memilih antara bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus dalam bahasa Sunda.

Dalam rangka kita membicarakan peranan BI Jabar dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di kota Bandung ini, yang paling penting adalah kesimpulan ad.2 dan ad.3.

Meskipun penggunaan BI Jabar pada umumnya merupakan faktor kuat dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak-anak yang bersangkutan, tetapi satu segi yang negatif dalam hal ini adalah masuknya pengaruh bahasa Sunda melalui BI Jabar ini di dalam bahasa Indonesia anak-anak itu.

Masih harus difikirkan langkah-langkah apa yang harus diambil agar anak-anak yang tak dapat dielakkan dari *exposure* terhadap bahasa Sunda dalam kehidupan sehari-hari memperoleh bahasa Indonesia baku yang baik dan benar sesudah dan di samping mereka memperoleh BI Jabar.

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INTERFERENSI LEKSIKAL BAHASA MALAYU MANADO PADA PENGGUNAAN BAHASA INDONESIA OLEH PEJABAT DAN AGEN MEDIA MASSA DI SULAWESI UTARA

Henny Lomban Ticoalu

1. PENDAHULUAN

Bahasa Malayu Manado telah dipakai oleh penduduk Manado yang terdiri dari berbagai kelompok etnis asal Sulawesi Utara dan para pendatang suku bangsa lain yang berdomisili di ibu kota Propinsi Sulawesi Utara, Manado sejak beberapa abad yang lalu.

Sungguhpun beberapa kelompok etnis Sulawesi Utara seperti Minahasa, Gorontalo, Sangir Talaud, dan Bolaang Mangondow masih mempergunakan bahasa ibu antaranggota kelompok etnisnya masing-masing, bahasa Malayu Manado itu dipergunakan secara merata dan meluas untuk kepentingan komunikasi antarteman sejawat, anggota keluarga, pembantu rumah, pedagang, bahkan dengan pejabat dan petugas negara dan seluruh lapisan masyarakat dalam beberapa aspek kegiatan dan lingkungan tertentu di Manado. Malahan kenyataan menunjukkan bahwa bahasa Manado yang pada beberapa generasi sebelumnya berfungsi sebagai *lingua franca* dan merupakan bahasa perolehan kedua dari penduduk Manado, kini telah menjadi bahasa pertama dari sebagian besar penduduk, terutama anak-anak yang dilahirkan di Manado.

Dengan adanya penentuan bahasa persatuan nasional, yaitu bahasa Indonesia yang telah dihayati sejak 1928 dan perumusannya dituangkan pada Undang-undang Dasar 1945, Bab XV, Pasal 36, maka bahasa Indonesia sesuai fungsi dan kedudukannya menempati beberapa lingkungan pemakaian tertentu, sedangkan bahasa Malayu Manado tetap dipakai berdampingan dengan bahasa etnis. Jadi, ketiga-tiganya dipakai dalam aspek kegiatan dan lingkungan yang berbeda oleh individu masyarakat multilingual ini.

Bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Malayu Manado yang berasal dari satu sumber, yaitu bahasa Malayu ternyata mempunyai banyak persamaan di samping perbedaannya dalam struktur bentuk, bunyi, leksikon, dan konstruksi kalimat. Sehubungan dengan bahasa sumber, dikemukakan dalam disertasi Husen Abas (1978:60-61) bahwa bahasa Malayu yang mulanya dipakai oleh penduduk di Kepulauan Riau dan Selat Malaka itu merupakan salah satu bahasa Austronesia yang sangat cepat diterima dan diserap oleh suku bangsa Austronesia di daerah lain karena mempunyai lebih banyak persamaan daripada perbedaan dengan bahasa suku bangsa Austronesia lainnya.

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.4: *Thematic variation*, 367-383. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-77, 1983.

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Situasi inilah yang mendorong perluasan bahasa Malayu di daerah-daerah lain sehingga bahasa Malayu merupakan bahasa perhubungan atau *lingua franca* antarsuku-suku bangsa di Kepulauan Nusantara terutama dalam domain perdagangan maritim antarpulau, sejak Kerajaan Sriwijaya di abad ke-7 AD. Walaupun pada permulaannya hanya dipakai oleh 10% penduduk Indonesia, tetapi fungsinya sebagai alat perhubungan inilah yang mungkin lebih menguatkan dasar pengangkatan bahasa Malayu sebagai bahasa persatuan nasional bangsa Indonesia. Selain berkedudukan sebagai bahasa nasional, bahasa Indonesia juga merupakan bahasa negara yang berfungsi sebagai: (1) bahasa resmi kenegaraan, (2) bahasa pengantar di dalam dunia pendidikan, (3) alat perhubungan pada tingkat nasional untuk kepentingan perencanaan dan pelaksanaan pembangunan nasional serta kepentingan pemerintahan, (4) alat pengembangan kebudayaan, ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi.

Untuk mengukuhkan fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa Indonesia telah dilaksanakan kebijaksanaan politik bahasa nasional yang ditujukan untuk menghindari kekaburan fungsi dan kedudukan antara bahasa nasional, bahasa daerah, dan bahasa asing, seperti yang ditegaskan Amran Halim (1975:20-21).

Pembedaan fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa memungkinkan mengatur masuknya unsur-unsur baru dari bahasa-bahasa lain itu sedemikian rupa sehingga hanya unsur-unsur yang benar-benar dibutuhkan untuk memperkaya bahasa Nasional kita sajalah yang kita terima. Meniadakan sama sekali masuknya unsur-unsur bahasa lain ke dalam bahasa Indonesia tidak mungkin dilakukan oleh karena adalah suatu kenyataan bahwa apabila dua bahasa atau lebih dipergunakan di dalam masyarakat yang sama, maka terjadilah apa yang disebut kontak bahasa, yang mau tidak mau mengakibatkan terjadinya hubungan timbal balik dan saling mempengaruhi.

Untuk membina dan mengembangkan bahasa Indonesia sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukannya dilaksanakan usaha pembakuan yang terus-menerus di bidang ejaan, istilah, dan tata bahasa.

Sementara itu, bahasa Malayu sebagai bahasa perhubungan sejak permulaan abad ke-16¹ telah dikristalisasikan dengan unsur-unsur bahasa daerah pemakai di Manado dan tetap berkembang secara alamiah, yang oleh masyarakat penuturnya disebut dan diidentifikasi sebagai bahasa Malayu Manado.

Bahasa Malayu Manado bila diklasifikasi menurut Stuwart (dalam Joshua Fishman, 1968), jika ditinjau dari segi sifat dan pemakaiannya tergolong ke dalam *creole*, yaitu hanya memiliki vitalitas, tetapi tidak mempunyai standardisasi, otonomi, dan kesejarahan identik dengan suku. Penggolongan yang sering dipakai pada publikasi populer, yaitu dialek Manado, mungkin ditinjau dari klasifikasi genetis bahasa Malayu dan penyebarannya—tetapi sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukan yang dirumuskan Politik Bahasa Nasional—Bahasa Malayu Manado termasuk ke dalam bahasa daerah walaupun bukan bahasa etnis.

Ditinjau dari segi struktur leksikonnya, bahasa Malayu Manado yang sudah dikodifikasikan² banyak menyerap unsur non-Malayu; namun, yang dominan adalah unsur Malayunya yang sebagian besar homofon dan homonim dengan leksim bahasa Indonesia. Persamaan unsur leksikal dalam kedua bahasa ini tampak lebih besar jumlahnya terdapat pada leksim yang terdiri dari morfem bebas, sedangkan pada morfem terikat sebagian dipengaruhi oleh struktur grammatikal kedua bahasa yang berbeda. Adanya persamaan dan perbedaan itu adalah karena kedua bahasa itu berasal dari satu sumber, yang kini telah berbeda kedudukan dan fungsinya sehingga mendorong kecenderungan saling mempengaruhi antara bahasa Malayu

Manado dan bahasa Indonesia pada pemakai masyarakat bilingual/multilingual di Sulawesi Utara. Masalahnya sampai sejauh mana gejala saling mempengaruhi ini menimbulkan interferensi yang menurut Uriel Weinreich (1968), dapat menyebabkan penyimpangan ketidak laziman dalam salah satu bahasa dwibahasawan?

Untuk ini telah diadakan penelitian gejala interferensi bahasa Malayu Manado pada pemakaian bahasa Indonesia untuk kepentingan pembakuan dan pengembangan bahasa nasional yang menurut Amran Halim (1975:3) dapat dilakukan dengan cara memanfaatkan metode, teknik, dan hasil yang dicapai dalam sosiolinguistik³. Gejala interferensi difokuskan pada studi interferensi leksikal dalam kontak bahasa untuk mengkaji konsepsi Weinreich mengenai implikasi pergeseran makna yang ditemukan dalam unsur leksikal yang homofon dan homonim pada bahasa-bahasa yang genetis dan kultural berkerabat (Weinreich 1968).

Berapakan luas interferensi yang dapat terjadi pada dwibahasawan/multi-bahasawan pejabat pemerintah dan agen media massa yang luas pengaruhnya dan besar wibawanya ketika berkomunikasi dengan menggunakan bahasa nasional pada waktu membicarakan masalah kepentingan perencanaan, pelaksanaan pembangunan nasional, serta kepentingan pemerintahan?

Metode yang dipakai dalam penelitian ini adalah gabungan teknik pengumpulan dan analisis data ilmu sosial dan ilmu bahasa yang disebut sosiolinguistik.

Pemilihan sasaran populasi penelitian diprioritaskan kepada pejabat pemerintah karena di samping guru, alim ulama, dan kaum cendekiawan, mereka termasuk golongan pembina pendapat umum yang cepat dicontoh massa.

2. INTERFERENSI LEKSIKAL DAN IDENTIFIKASI POLA SUBSTITUSI

Rumusan beberapa ahli bahasa seperti Haugen (1950:271-290) Weinreich (1968), dan Mackey (1972) yang mengkaji masalah interferensi dalam kontak bahasa para dwibahasawan sebagian besar saling melengkapi; namun, terhadap beberapa aspek ada terdapat perbedaan pandangan. Ketiga ahli bahasa itu sependapat dalam hal membedakan unsur interferensi leksikal yang belum terintegrasi dan yang sudah terintegrasi (karena unsur yang sudah terintegrasi sudah merupakan peminjaman). Akan tetapi Fishman (1972) kurang menyetujui interferensi sebagai gejala penyimpangan. Haugen (dalam Anwar S. Dil 1968:325-329) mengusulkan hal itu sebagai pemindahan/transfer yang senada dengan pendapat Zelling Harris dalam Anwar S. Dil (1968:305). Hal yang lebih mengundang masalah baru adalah pendapat Mackey (1972) mengenai pemukiman interferensi dalam *parole* dan peminjaman dalam *langue*, sedangkan Weinreich menyebutkan interferensi berada dalam *speech and language* (*parole* dan *langue*). Kesulitan terjadi karena dikotomi *parole* dan *langue* kini semakin kabur dalam pandangan fungsionalis, malah dikatakan telah kehilangan potensi ilmiahnya (Frenzie 1975:5). Kesulitan mengidentifikasi unsur pinjaman menurut Haugen adalah karena tidak dibedakan atau diperhitungkan cara pendekatan diakronis atau sinkronis terhadap masalah itu. Jadi, bagaimana mengidentifikasi interferensi dibedakan dengan peminjaman?

Menurut hemat peneliti tinjauan pertama adalah pada latar belakang situasi pemakaian kedwibahasa/multibahasa yang mengadakan kontak bahasa, kemudian melihat motivasi atau sebab dalam struktur bahasa yang dikorelasikan dengan faktor-faktor luar bahasa, dan yang penting adalah akibat yang ditimbulkan terhadap norma bahasa yang dipakai dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia. Peminjaman dapat terjadi pada ekabahasawan dan biasanya disebabkan oleh kebutuhan baik dalam struktur leksikon yang belum ada padanannya dan medan diferensiasi semantik, juga oleh faktor luar bahasa seperti faktor prestise.

Pengaruh unsur pinjaman pada norma bahasa dalam hal ini leksikon akan memperkaya perbendaharaan bahasa itu jika benar-benar diperlukan, tetapi sebaliknya, jika unsur-unsur itu tidak diperlukan akan menyulitkan pembakuan bahasa.

Interferensi selalu terjadi pada dwibahasawan yang membawa kedua bahasanya dalam kontak. Paksaan dari kedua sistem atau struktur bahasa yang sekaligus diketahuinya menyebabkan dwibahasawan itu mengidentifikasikan bunyi, kata, atau makna dari bahasa perolehan pertama dengan menyamakannya pada bahasa perolehan kedua yang sedang dipakainya. Dalam data penelitian ini terdapat realisasi interferensi leksikal pola substitusi lebih besar jumlahnya dari pola importasi. Melihat unsur-unsur importasi dari bahasa Malayu Manado yang dipindahkan pada pemakaian bahasa Indonesia, semuanya mempunyai padanannya dalam bahasa Indonesia. Oleh karena itu, dapatlah disimpulkan bahwa unsur-unsur tersebut bukan unsur pinjaman karena tidak didasari oleh alasan kebutuhan (*need-filling*) pada faktor dalam bahasa. Faktor penyebab dan pendorong terjadinya interferensi pola leksikal importasi adalah faktor luar bahasa, yaitu adanya toleransi yang besar dari sasaran populasi akan bahasa campuran (BI dan BMM) yang dirasa lebih mempertaut hubungan pembicara dengan lawan bicara sesuai generalisasi opini wawancara terarah. Ini diperkuat oleh data penelitian yang hanya menemukan pola importasi pada wacana lisan (dalam pidato dan jawaban wawancara terarah), sedangkan pada wacana tertulis yang diketemukan hanya pola interferensi leksikal substitusi.

2.1 Identifikasi pola substitusi

Dikaitkan dengan hipotesis Weinreich mengenai pergeseran makna yang dapat terjadi pada dua bahasa seasal dan sekerabat, yang memiliki unsur leksikal homofon dan homonim, maka di bidang leksikal dwibahasawan mengidentifikasikan leksim bahasa perolehan kedua (dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia) yang sedang dipakainya, sama dengan makna dan urutan leksikal yang ada pada bahasa perolehan sebelumnya, yaitu Malayu Manado, sedangkan makna dan pola urutan leksikalnya telah berbeda.

Pengaruh atau akibat yang ditimbulkan pada bahasa yang digunakannya, dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia, adalah penyimpangan atau ketidaklaziman dalam norma leksikal yang dapat mengacaukan komunikasi, yaitu salah tafsir makna dari lawan bicara. Jadi, bukan sekedar penambahan atau pergantian unsur yang indentifikasinya lebih mudah disadari setelah melihat ketidaklaziman yang hadir (*token of interference*) pada suatu bahasa yang dipakai. Pada interferensi leksikal pola substitusi, ketidak laziman yang hadir pada norma bahasa, sukar diidentifikasi dan dipisahkan terutama pada unsur-unsur yang homofon dan homonim yang ada pada kedua bahasa repertoar dwibahasawan. Jadi, faktor penyebab dalam struktur bahasa adalah kesukaran memisahkan kedua bahasa karena persamaan bunyi dan bentuk leksikon, sedangkan faktor luar bahasa yang terutama adalah tingkat penguasaan kedua bahasa yang berbeda dan juga didorong oleh faktor sosiobudaya yang akan dibahas dalam bab berikut.

Adapun tingkat penguasaan bahasa Indonesia yang kurang memadai dan kurangnya kesempatan dan pembiasaan menggunakan bahasa ini lebih mendorong dwibahasawan untuk tidak dapat memisahkan kedua bahasa secara sempurna. Seperti pendapat Weinreich bahwa unsur-unsur bahasa yang tidak standar lebih sering diambil/dipindahkan daripada unsur bahasa standar yang dalam fungsinya tidak mencakup ragam bahasa hari-hari. Yang sangat menarik perhatian penulis adalah meneliti masalah berikut. Apakah bahasa standar dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia, yang

dipakai sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukannya, dipakai dalam semua ragam komunikasi resmi itu lebih berpotensi untuk mengganti idiom yang bergeser dari-pada bahasa yang tidak standar (Weinreich 1968:107). Untuk itulah maka pola interferensi leksikal substitusi diutamakan dalam analisis ini.

2.1.1 Contoh data interferensi substitusi

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| (1) sudah akan
Hum.XI/75 | Menurut Bapak Lahay <i>upgrading</i> pamongpraja sudah akan memulainya programnya di kantor Bupati Gorontalo. |
| (2) kita
R. 2016 | Kemudian sesudah kita pindah ke sekolah Malayu kita sudah mempelajari bahasa Indonesia. |
| (3) banyak-banyak
R. 2007 | Bagi mereka banyak-banyak itu cuma menjadi lambang. |
| (4) taruh kira
R. 2005 | Kebetulan saya suka taruh kira itu soal-soal demikian. |
| (5) serta
R. 2024 | Serta Presiden pakai, kita semua pakai istilah itu. |
| (6) untuk mau
R. 1022 | Untuk mau cari identitas, itulah masalahnya. |
| (7) rupa
R. 1006 | Rupa almarhum kalau pergi ke sana cepat menyesuaikan diri. |
| (8) kurang | Kadang-kadang istilah itu kurang diambil dari bahasa lain. |
| (9) jaga | Majalah itu jaga jual di stasion. |
| (10) bikin biasa
R. 1011 | Saya menganjurkan kalau di desa bikin biasa bicara dengan bahasa daerah. |
| (11) kasih masuk
R. 2015 | Dia sempat kasih masuk kata-kata Malayu Manado dalam nyanyian mereka. |
| (12) itu (1)
R. 2024 | Itu, itu disebut diafragma. |
| (13) itu (2)
R. 2020 | Itu pamong desa itu mesti begitu. |
| (14) itu dia
R. 1014 | Kira-kira dinamakan apa itu dia. |
| (15) ini
R. 1019 | Ini Manado ini, dulu sebenarnya wilayah Tombulu. |
| (16) baik
Dt. Pid. | Wanita cuma ada lebih 300, baik bukan laki-laki yang lebih. |

2.2 Identifikasi pola substitusi

Leksim yang mengalami substitusi sesuai konteks data adalah berupa sebagai berikut.

1. Leksim yang baik dalam bahasa Indonesia maupun bahasa Malayu Manado terdapat bunyi bentuk yang sama (homonim dan homofon), tetapi maknanya telah bergeser.

R	Bunyi dan bentuk		Makna	
	BMM	BI	Malayu Manado	Bahasa Indonesia
2016 2024 1017 1006	itu serta jaga kurang	/itu/ /serta/ /jaga/ /kurang/	kata penunjuk <i>setelah</i> <i>biasa</i> <i>sering</i>	kata keterangan <i>turut</i> <i>waspada</i> <i>tidak cukup</i>

2. Leksim dan kesatuan leksikal dalam bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Malayu Manado yang mempunyai bentuk dan bunyi hampir serupa dan makna hampir sama, tetapi pemakaiannya dalam BI sesuai dengan konteks data kurang lazim.

R	Bentuk dan bunyi		Pola substitusi	Pola yang lazim
	BI	BMM	BI	BI
2007 2015 Dt. Pid.	banyak-banyak rupa bae	/banya-banya/ /rupa/ /bae/	<i>banyak-banyak</i> <i>rupa</i> <i>baik</i>	<i>paling-paling</i> <i>seperti/sama</i> <i>syukur/untung</i>

3. Leksim dan kesatuan leksikal yang dalam BI dan BMM mempunyai bentuk, bunyi yang tidak serupa, dan pemakaian pola itu dalam BI merupakan salinan/terjemahan dari pola urutan BMM.

R	Bentuk dan bunyi	Pola substitusi	Pola yang lazim
	BMM	BI	BI
2021 1022	somo /so:mo/ for mo /for mo/	<i>sudah makan</i> <i>untuk mau</i>	<i>akan segera/akan</i> <i>untuk</i>

4. Leksim dan kesatuan leksikal yang dalam BI dan BMM mempunyai bentuk dan bunyi sama, tetapi pemakaian pada BI sudah berganda.

R	Bentuk dan bunyi		Pola substitusi	Pola yang lazim
	BI	BMM	BI	BI
2021	ini	/ini/	<i>ini - x - ini</i>	(-) x <i>ini</i>
1019	itu	/itu/	<i>itu - x - itu</i>	(-) x <i>itu</i>
1014	itu dia	/tudia/	<i>- - itu dia</i>	<i>- - itu (-)</i>

5. Leksim dan kesatuan leksikal yang dalam BI dan BMM mempunyai sama bentuk, bunyi dan makna yang sama, tetapi pemakaian pada BI dianggap tidak baku.

R	Bentuk dan bunyi		Pola substitusi	Pola yang lazim
	BI	BMM	BI	BI
1011	bikin biasa	beking biasa	<i>bikin biasa</i>	<i>membiasakan/ memperbiasakan</i>
2015	kasih masuk	kase maso	<i>kasih masuk</i>	<i>memasukkan</i>

Dalam konteks data penelitian, interferensi terjadi karena hal-hal berikut.

1. Terdapatnya leksim BM dan BMM yang mempunyai sama bentuk dan bunyi tetapi berbeda makna sehingga dwibahasawan menggunakan itu pada BI dengan menyamakannya dengan makna dalam BMM.
Contoh: kita; serta.
2. Terdapatnya leksim dan kesatuan leksikal dalam BI dan BMM yang mempunyai bentuk, bunyi, dan satu makna yang sama, tetapi dwibahasawan menggunakannya dalam BI sesuai pola urutan leksikal BMM. Penggunaannya dalam BI menjadi berganda dan leksim pindahan itu dapat ditiadakan.
Contoh: itu (1); ini; itu dia.
R. 2024 Itu, pamong desa itu mesti begitu.
Pamong desa itu musti begitu.
R. 1019 Ini Manado ini, dulu sebenarnya wilayah Tombulu.
Menado ini, dulu sebenarnya wilayah Tombulu.
R. 1014 Kira-kira dinamakan apa itu dia?
Kira-kira dinamakan apa itu?
3. Terdapatnya leksim BI dan BMM yang mempunyai bentuk, bunyi, dan satu makna yang sama, tetapi dalam BMM terdapat beberapa makna yang lain sehingga dwibahasawan memakai unsur leksikal itu dengan makna khusus BMM.

Contoh: jaga; itu; kurang.

- Kata jaga dalam BI bermakna
1. tidak tidur, bangun
 2. berkawal, menunggu supaya selamat (Poerwadarminta:392).

Dalam BMM mempunyai makna no.2

Contoh: Sapa itu da jaga pa dia?
Siapa yang menjaganya?

Makna lain dalam BMM, yaitu *selalu, biasa, setiap kali*.

R. 1006 Majalah itu jaga jual di stasion.
Majalah itu biasa dijual di stasiun.

Kata itu pada BI bermakna sebagai kata penunjuk bagi benda (waktu, hal) yang jauh (Poerwadarminta:390). Dalam BMM mempunyai makna BI.

Contoh: Itu, baju sana manyala sekali.
Baju itu sangat menarik.

Makna lain dalam BMM, yaitu menyatakan keterangan (kata keterangan) seperti *yang*.

Contoh: Tu kita da bilang itu so butul kwaq.
Yang saya katakan itu benar adanya.

R. 2024 Itu, itu disebut diafragma.
Itu yang disebut diafragma.

Kata kurang pada BI bermakna (1) tidak cukup, (2) untuk menyatakan bilangan sedikit, (3) tidak atau belum sama dengan yang seharusnya, (4) perbandingan (5) sedikit, (6) sesuatu yang tidak ada, (7) tidak cukup, tidak banyak, dan (8) sesuatu yang tidak ada (belum lengkap).

Dalam BMM yang bermakna seperti BI adalah no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, dan no. 7,

Contoh: Tu aer di parigi so kurang
Air di perigi sudah kurang

Tu anak tu dia so jadi kurang ajar
Anak itu sudah kurang ajar.

Makna lain dalam BMM, yaitu *sering, terus-terusan*.

R. 1006 Kadang-kadang istilah itu kurang diambil dari bahasa lain.

4. Terdapatnya kesatuan leksikal yang mempunyai bentuk dan bunyi yang *tidak serupa*, tetapi dalam pemakaian BI merupakan salinan/terjemahan dari pola kesatuan leksikal BMM dengan pembagian dan urutan seperti pola leksim BMM.

Contoh: sudah akan; untuk mau.

Dalam BI kesatuan leksikal sudah akan kurang lazim urutannya dalam konteks secara terpisah, kata sudah bermakna (1) selesai, (2) habis, (3) telah lalu, (4) telah (menyatakan perbuatan telah jadi), (5) memang demikian (Poerwadarminta 1972). Kata akan pada BI bermakna: (1) kata perangkai untuk menghubungkan kata kerja dan sebagainya, (2) mengenai, (3) untuk, (4) untuk menyatakan sesuatu yang hendak terjadi, hendak.

Dalam BMM kesatuan leksikal somo menyatakan sesuatu yang akan dilaksanakan segera (inchoatif).

Contoh: Kita somo pulang.
Saya akan segera pergi.

R. um. XI/75 Menurut Bapak Lahay *upgrading* pamongpraja gelombang V tahun 1975 sudah akan memulakan.
akan segera

Bentuk untuk umum dalam BI kesatuan leksikal kurang lazim urutannya. Secara terpisah kata untuk bermakna: (1) bagian, (2) disediakan, (3) digunakan, (4) bermaksud; mau bermakna: (1) sungguh, (2) hendak, (3) akan, (4) kehendak/maksud.

Dalam BMM kata formo menyatakan *akan, untuk*.

Contoh: kita da perlu doi formo bayar SPP.

Saya perlu uang untuk membayar SPP.

5. Terdapatnya leksim dan kesatuan leksikal dalam BI dan BMM yang bentuk serupa dan bunyi hampir sama serta medan makna yang sama, tetapi unsur-unsur BMM sudah mengalami perluasan semantik sehingga dwibahasawan menggunakannya dalam BI.

Contoh: banyak-banyak; taruh kira; baik.

R. 2007 Terdapatnya bagi mereka banyak-banyak itu cuma menjadi lambang. *paling-paling*

R. 1006 Rupa almarhum, kalau pergi ke sana cepat menyesuaikan diri. *Seperti*

Dt. Pid. Wanita cuma ada lebih 300, baik bukan laki-laki yang lebih. *syukur*

6. Terdapatnya kesatuan leksikal dan leksim dalam BI dan BMM yang mempunyai sama bentuk, bunyi yang hampir serupa, dan makna yang sama, tetapi penggunaan pola leksikal itu pada BI dianggap nonstandar/tidak baku pada masa sekarang karena pada BMM hanya terdapat pola kesatuan leksikal pada morfem-morfem yang tidak mengenal imbuhan dengan makan gramatikal yang mendukung makna referensial unsur leksikal tersebut, maka penyusun menggolongkannya ke dalam interferensi leksikal. Pemakaian pada BI yang dianjurkan adalah konstruksi sintetis melalui imbuhan pada kata dasar, sedangkan yang analitis dianggap nonstandar.

Kata kasih sebagai leksim yang merupakan morfem bebas bermakna: (1) berasa atau perasaan sayang, (2) memberi, (3) membiarkan supaya. Dalam BMM kasih/kase bermakna seperti yang tertulis pada bagian 2 dan 3 dan tidak mengenal makna no.1. Dalam konteks data bentuk kasih masuk menyatakan *membuat menjadikan supaya masuk*. Substitusi dengan imbuhan afiksasi dengan makna gramatikal yang sama dengan kata kasih yang tertera dalam nomor (3) adalah dengan konfiks me-kan pada kata masuk.

R. Dia sempat kasih masuk kata-kata Malayu Manado dalam nyanyian mereka. *Dia sempat me-masuk-kan kata-kata Malayu Manado dalam nyanyian mereka.*

Bentuk bikin biasa dalam BI kata bikin bermakna: (1) membuat, (2) kadang-kadang; awalan memper- pengganti me-kan (Poerwadarminta:189).

Pada BMM bikin/beking, bermakna seperti BI no. 1. Kesatuan leksikal bikin biasa pada BI dan BMM bermakna membuat supaya.

3. INPLIKASI NONLINGUISTIK

Beberapa faktor di luar struktur bahasa atau nonlinguistik yang harus dikaitkan dengan masalah interferensi yang terjadi pada masyarakat dwibahasawan menurut penjabaran Uriel Weinreich adalah sebagai berikut.

- a. Kelancaran dan keahlian seseorang mengenai bahasa secara umum dan kesanggupannya memisahkan kedua bahasa itu masing-masing;
- b. Keahlian dalam bahasa masing-masing secara relatif;
- c. Cara belajar setiap bahasa;
- d. Sikap terhadap masing-masing bahasa secara khusus ataupun secara kelompok;
- e. Pemilihan topik bagi orang yang diajak berbicara dalam pemakaian setiap bahasa;
- f. Jumlah/besarnya kelompok dwibahasa dan kesatuan perpecahan dalam subgrup anak kelompok yang memakai satu atau bahasa lain sebagai bahasa ibu;
- g. Fakta-fakta demografis;
- h. Hubungan sosial dan politik antara anak kelompok dan sebagainya;
- i. Kelaziman dwibahasawan akan ciri-ciri bahasa dari beberapa subgrup;
- j. Sikap bersama terhadap masing-masing bahasa baik bahasa asli ataupun yang berstatus imigrasi;
- k. Sikap terhadap kebudayaan masing-masing kelompok masyarakat;
- l. Sikap terhadap kedwibahasaan;
- m. Toleransi dan ketidaktoleransian terhadap bahasa campuran dan pemakaian bahasa tuturan yang tidak lazim/salah; dan
- n. Hubungan antara kelompok bilingual dan masing-masing dari dua kelompok bahasa yang berada dalam lokasi perbatasan (Weinreich 1968:3-4).

Di samping itu, perlu ditinjau fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa-bahasa dalam kelompok masyarakat bilingual dengan memperhitungkan faktor pendorong dan perintang interferensi dalam kontak bahasa seperti wilayah geografis, kelompok bahasa asli, kelompok kultural, agama, ras, seks, umur, status sosial, jabatan penduduk kota urban atau pinggiran, dan sebagainya. Masalah pokok yang melingkari analisis ini, yaitu: Sejauh manakah faktor luar bahasa (sosiokultural, psikologis, dan politis) merupakan latar belakang pendorong dan perintang gejala interferensi bagi dwibahasawan?

Untuk keperluan ini telah dicoba membuat generalisasi kelompok berdasarkan persentase realisasi interferensi seorang dwibahasawan dikaitkan dengan salah satu indikator nonlinguistik sesuai dengan yang dianjurkan ilmu sosial.

Kategori yang ditentukan mencakupi latar belakang sosiobudaya responden dwibahasawan/tribahasawan yang dikelompokkan sesuai dengan generalisasi jawaban wawancara terarah, yaitu meliputi perolehan bahasa pertama, kelompok etnis, pendidikan, cara belajar bahasa, status jabatan, umur, toleransi, dan sikap terhadap masing-masing bahasa dan bahasa campuran.

Mengenai wilayah geografis kelompok suku/etnis responden adalah berasal dari empat kabupaten/daerah administratif tingkat II, yang mewakili empat daerah budaya propinsi Sulawesi Utara, yaitu Gorontalo; Bolaang Mongondow; Minahasa; dan Sangir Talaud. Hubungan sosial politik ekonomi antara empat kelompok etnis adalah karena mereka tinggal dalam satu wilayah propinsi dan menyebabkan mereka sering berkumpul dan menetap di ibu kota Propinsi Sulut Manado, yang menjadi sasaran lokasi penelitian ini.

Pemilihan responden kantor gubernur tingkat propinsi dan kantor wilayah penerangan tingkat propinsi sebagai sasaran populasi adalah melihat volume subkelompok etnis yang jumlahnya seimbang dan dianggap representatif mewakili penentuan sampel pilihan. Adanya toleransi yang sama dari wakil-wakil kelompok etnis tersebut terhadap bahasa Malayu Manado untuk keperluan komunikasi intim dan informal (sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukannya) pada domain-domain tertentu merupakan dasar penyeragaman perlakuan untuk meneliti gejala interferensi dalam kontak bahasa dwibahasawan/tribahasawan di Manado.

Melalui penerapan beberapa teknik pengumpulan data dan analisis data ilmu sosial, seperti pengamatan, wawancara terarah, daftar pertanyaan langsung, dan ilmu statistik telah dapat dilaksanakan pengukuran korelasi luasnya interferensi dwibahasawan yang disebabkan faktor struktur bahasa dengan dorongan atau rintangan faktor luar bahasa. Implikasi kecenderungan interferensi dapat dilihat dalam tabel-tabel seperti di bawah ini.

Tabel 1: Nilai tengah interferensi dari 46 responden kantor penerangan dan kantor gubernuran				
Kantor Penerangan		Kantor Gubernur		Total N
%	N	%	N	
3,3	23	3,3	23	46

Tampak pada tabel di atas besar jumlah nilai tengah interferensi menunjukkan angka yang sama antara pejabat/petugas kantor gubernur dan pejabat/petugas penerangan yaitu dengan jumlah (N) sama dan terdiri dari kelompok etnis, perolehan bahasa, umur, dan tingkat pendidikan yang berbeda-beda.

Gejala interferensi dilihat dari lingkungan jawatan adalah sama; pejabat dan petugasnya secara merata cenderung menghasilkan jumlah interferensi yang sama. Kedua jawatan/instansi tersebut, tentu mempunyai pejabat dan petugas yang banyak berkesempatan untuk berkomunikasi dengan masyarakat, baik dalam medium tertulis maupun medium lisan, dan dalam gejala interferensi akibat kontak bahasa realisasi berarti interferensi dari pejabat/petugas dalam jumlah (N) kurang lebih sama.

Tabel 2: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan tingkat pendidikan						
Kantor Penerangan			Kantor Gubernur			
Tingkat Pendidikan	%	N	%	N	Total %	Total N
Nonakademis	3,4	19	2,9	7	3,2	26
Akademis	3	4	2,9	16	2,9	20
		23		23		46

Tingkat pendidikan hanya dibagi dalam dua kelompok, yaitu kelompok nonakademis dan kelompok akademis. Dari tabel di atas terdapat kecenderungan bahwa jumlah interferensi lebih besar terjadi pada petugas nonakademis daripada yang akademis (identitas B.A, + Drs.). Hal ini mungkin disebabkan materi dan kesempatan lebih lama belajar dalam pendidikan akademis sehingga lebih memantapkan penguasaan bahasa Indonesia dan mengakibatkan bahwa kelompok penutur tersebut lebih dapat memisahkan kedua bahasa itu. Setidak-tidaknya kenyataan itu membenarkan pernyataan Weinreich:

For the purpose of understanding and predicting language influences the fact that one of the languages is used in the education system, if any is therefore of great importance what the school achieves as a conservatory agency in language development is however not accidental but part of a broader cultural setting with its spesific prevailing attitudes on language purity.

Tabel 3: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan kelompok etnis

Kantor Penerangan			Kantor Gubernur			
Kelompok etnis	%	N	%	N	Total %	Total N
Minahasa	3,4	15	3,5	15	3,4	30
Gorontalo	1,7	3	3	4	2,4	7
Sangir	4,5	4	-	-	-	4
Bolaang Mongondow	4,7	1	3,2	2	3,4	3
Minahasa + Campur	-	-	2,7	2	-	2
		23		23		46

Dari tabel di atas ternyata bahwa kecenderungan terjadi interferensi dalam ujaran tidak memperlihatkan perbedaan yang besar antara kelompok anak suku di Sulawesi Utara, kecuali Gorontalo sungguhpun *bahasa Malayu Manado* dipakai lebih banyak pada kelompok suku Minahasa.

Besarnya pengaruh bahasa Malayu Manado dalam pemakaian bahasa Indonesia pada pejabat/petugas di kantor gubernur dan kantor penerangan di Manado tidak mutlak hanya kepada kelompok suku Minahasa, tetapi merata pada kelompok etnis lainnya di Sulawesi Utara. Data-data dalam tabel ini sesuai dengan data-data pengamatan sebelumnya. Jelaslah bahwa pada kelompok-kelompok etnis yang berasal dari Sulawesi Utara mempunyai toleransi yang merata terhadap saling pengaruh bahasa Malayu Manado dan bahasa Indonesia.

Dari tabel 4 berikut ternyata kecenderungan interferensi tampak persentase terbanyak terjadi pada kelompok yang bahasa perolehan pertamanya, yaitu bahasa Malayu Manado bersama Minahasa (1). Perolehan bahasa pertama Malayu Manado, Gorontalo, Sangir Talaud, cenderung menunjukkan persentase yang seimbang, sedangkan perolehan bahasa pertama dalam Malayu lain (Malayu tangsi Magelang + Malang) dan kelompok yang sudah *dibekali bahasa Indonesia* ditambah bahasa daerah setempat memperlihatkan persentase interferensi rendah.

Hal yang menarik yang tampak dalam tabel 4 adalah bahwa kelompok yang mempunyai dua perolehan bahasa sekaligus, yaitu Malayu Manado dan Minahasa cenderung mengalami interferensi lebih banyak daripada yang hanya satu. Weinreich (1968:88) mengemukakan bahwa adanya diversifikasi dialek dan adanya fungsi-fungsi bahasa yang tidak sama menyebabkan sikap tak acuh yang mendorong interferensi.

Tabel 4: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan perolehan bahasa pertama

Kantor Penerangan			Kantor Gubernur			
Perolehan Bahasa pertama	%	N	%	N	Total %	Total N
Malayu Manado	4,7	4	2,3	8	3,1	12
Gorontalo	3,6	1	-	-	-	1
Sangir Talaud	3,9	2	-	-	-	2
Minahasa	4	3	4,3	2	4,1	5
Malayu lain	1,5	3	1,5	2	1,5	5
Malayu Manado + Minahasa	3,4	7	5	7	4,2	4
Bolaang Mangondow	4,7	1	3,2	2	3,7	3
Bahasa Indonesia + Bahasa Daerah setempat	0,8	2	2,3	2	1,5	4
		23		23		46

Tabel 5: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan umur

Kantor Penerangan			Kantor Gubernur			
Umur	%	N	%	N	Total %	Total N
21 - 30 tahun	4,1	1	4,7	1	4,4	2
31 - 40 tahun	4,8	1	3,4	9	4,1	17
41 - 50 tahun	2,6	10	3,3	12	3	22
51 - 60 tahun	2	4	1,6	1	1,9	5
		23		23		46

Data tabel 5 di atas ternyata bahwa kecenderungan interferensi dalam ujaran pada umur yang lebih muda persentasenya lebih besar. Jumlah interferensi jelas secara bertingkat, yaitu lebih tua usia lebih kurang terjadi interferensi. Dengan kata lain, makin tua usia terpendek makin sanggup memisahkan bahasa repertoirenya. Hal ini mungkin disebabkan oleh pengalaman memakai BI dalam bertugas lebih banyak, sedangkan ditinjau dari latar belakang perkembangan

bahasa Indonesia justru sebaliknya. Responden yang berumur 50-60 tahun kurang memperoleh dasar pelajaran BI dalam pendidikannya, sedangkan mereka yang mendapat pendidikan mulai tahun lima puluhan terutama sesudah tahun enam puluhan pengajaran BI di sekolah makin berkembang. Namun, tampak kecenderungan bahwa kesempatan dan jabatan memegang peranan dalam penguasaan BI sehingga responden yang masih muda dan masih baru dalam jabatannya cenderung membuat interferensi lebih banyak.

4. KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

4.1 Kesimpulan

Dalam penelitian ini dapat dibuktikan adanya interferensi sebagai salah satu gejala saling pengaruh, yaitu dari bahasa Malayu Manado pada penggunaan bahasa Indonesia akibat kontak bahasa pada individu masyarakat multibahasawan/dwibahasawan di Sulawesi Utara.

Pergeseran makna dan urutan leksikal pada leksikon yang homonim dan homofon dalam kedua bahasa, yaitu BMM dan BI yang berkerabat dan satu sumber sesuai dengan hipotesis dapat ditemukan melalui identifikasi interferensi leksikal pola substitusi.

Interferensi leksikal terutama pola substitusi dapat mempengaruhi norma bahasa Indonesia di bidang leksikal karena penggunaannya dapat mengacaukan komunikasi dan menyebabkan salah tafsir makna. Penemuan ini menguatkan konsepsi Weinreich bahwa interferensi adalah gejala penyimpangan bahasa dan bukan sekedar penambahan atau peminjaman.

Diakutkan dengan tujuan politik bahasa nasional antara lain usaha pembinaan, pengembangan, dan standarisasi istilah dan tata bahasa, yaitu penentuan ciri-ciri standar, maka interferensi leksikal dalam penggunaan bahasa Indonesia di Manado merupakan suatu sumbangan data.

Beberapa teknik pengumpulan data dari ilmu sosial seperti pengamatan, wawancara terarah, dan perhitungan statistik yang digabungkan pada teknik analisis bahasa cukup efektif dalam menyimpulkan dan menyarankan tentang:

- (a) implikasi faktor pendorong dan perintang interferensi leksikal dalam struktur bahasa dan luar bahasa.
- (b) luasnya kehadiran (*token*) interferensi leksikal dalam individu masyarakat dwibahasawan dalam wacana tulisan dan lisan.
- (c) pengaruh dalam norma bahasa dan implikasinya untuk kepentingan ilmu bahasa, perencanaan bahasa, dan komunikasi pembangunan.

4.2 Saran

Untuk kepentingan penguasaan dan pembinaan bahasa Indonesia khususnya bagi pejabat pemerintah sebagai agen komunikator yang berkesempatan menyebarluaskan bahasa Indonesia perlu diberikan penataran atau kursus BI, misalnya, dalam peningkatan administrasi pemerintahan atau diberikan persyaratan yang menentukan di dalam pengembangan ketenagaan. Khusus untuk komunikator media massa seperti wartawan dan penyiar lebih diintensifkan penataran bahasa Indonesia dalam penataran jurnalistik atau kursus tersendiri.

Mengingat masalah bahasa Indonesia adalah masalah kepentingan segenap lapisan masyarakat pemakainya, perlu diintensifkan pelajaran BI bukan saja pada lembaga pendidikan tetapi juga di luar lembaga pendidikan, malahan perlu dipikirkan cara-cara yang mendorong masyarakat secara merata untuk mencari kesempatan lebih banyak memakai bahasa Indonesia selain dalam forum resmi. Dalam penelitian ini dijumpai kecenderungan bahwa yang mempunyai kesempatan lebih lama dan lebih sering memakai BI lebih berhasil memisahkan BI daripada memakai bahasa daerah.

Di lain pihak dalam usaha menyempurnakan bahasa Indonesia sebagai alat komunikasi persatuan untuk integritas nasional bangsa agar dirasa lebih komunikatif lebih dapat menyatakan perasaan, pikiran, dan keinginan secara tepat yang melibatkan hubungan sosial budaya yang serasi oleh seluruh insan Indonesia, terasa kebutuhan untuk memperkaya bahasa Indonesia dengan unsur-unsur bahasa daerah yang intim, menyentuh perasaan, dan memperkuat hubungan terutama dalam ragam lisan.

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BAHASA MINANGKABAU, DI SEBELAH ATAU DI BAWAH BAHASA
MELAYU? SUATU STUDI PENDAHULUAN BERDASARKAN
PENELITIAN DIALEKTOLOGIS

Tamsin Medan

1. Dari sudut pandangan linguistik struktural, semua sistem tanda—yang terdiri dari tanda-tanda, yang masing-masingnya terdiri pula dari satu atau lebih unsur bunyi, yang jumlah dan macamnya terbatas—yang berfungsi sebagai alat komunikasi dalam suatu masyarakat merupakan suatu bahasa (Martinet 1970:20). Dalam pandangan linguistik komparatif, bahasa dipandang sebagai suatu sistem kekerabatan baik menurut jenjang vertikal—ke atas mempunyai induk dan sebagainya, ke bawah mempunyai anak, cucu, dan sebagainya—maupun menurut jajaran horizontal—sebelah-menyebelah sebagai saudara atau bukan saudara dan sebagainya.

Dari pandangan linguistik komparatif inilah dipertanyakan hubungan antara bahasa Minangkabau (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi BMK) dan bahasa Melayu (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi BML) dalam kertas kerja ini. Apakah BMK kekerabatannya dengan BML (kedua-duanya seperti adanya kini) menurut jajaran horizontal (bersaudara) ataukah menurut jenjang vertikal (di bawah dialek BML) seperti tersebut pada judul di atas.

Di antara para ahli berpendapat bahwa BMK adalah dialek (berada di bawah) BML, tetapi ada juga yang mengemukakan bahwa BMK adalah saudara atau setingkat dengan (berada di sebelah) BML. Pendapat pertama dipandang tradisional karena—kecuali para ahli yang mempunyai berbagai alasan—pendapat itu juga dianut oleh beberapa cendekiawan di Minangkabau sendiri berdasarkan anggapan dan bacaannya. Untuk pendapat kedua dapat dicatat antara lain gambaran peta bahasa Indonesia menurut Esser (1938); tulisan-tulisan Voorhoeve (1955:15-17), Uhlenbeck (dalam Sebeok 1971:69), Prentice dan A.H. Usman (dalam Wurm dan Carrington, eds 1978: 121), dan Steinhauer dan A.H. Usman (dalam Wurm dan Carrington, eds 1978:483); dan sebagainya.

Kami tidak hendak mendaftarkan para ahli yang menganut kedua macam pendapat tersebut. Juga tidak akan mengemukakan alasan-alasan mereka yang menunjang masing-masing pendapat itu. Kami hanya ingin mengemukakan data yang diperoleh dalam penelitian 'Dialek-dialek Minangkabau di daerah Minangkabau/Sumatra Barat', yang baru-baru ini dilakukan, yang agaknya dapat ikut memperkuat pendapat bahwa BMK bukanlah dialek, tetapi berada di sebelah BML. Di samping itu, penilikan dari sudut sosial budaya dan peranan BMK, pemakaian BML sebagai bahasa tulisan masyarakat Minangkabau serta masyarakat itu sendiri, dan penelusuran beberapa unsur linguistis BMK juga ingin dikemukakan di sini.

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.4: *Thematic variation*, 385-397. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-77, 1983.

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2. Penelitian dialektologi tersebut masih bersifat umum yang dilaksanakan di 25 titik pengamatan (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi TP) yang tersebar di seluruh daerah Minangkabau/Sumatra Barat. Penelitian ini meliputi bidang fonetik/fonologi, beberapa unsur morfologi, unsur-unsur kosa kata, dan sepintas lalu tentang sintaksis. Dari penilikan data yang terkumpul terlihat keadaan BMK itu antara lain seperti berikut ini.

2.1 Fonem BMK

Fonem BMK terdiri dari fonem vokal dan konsonan serta diftong. Vokal (V) ada enam buah; selanjutnya, lihatlah tabel berikut ini.

Tabel 1: Fonem-fonem BMK						
	Depan Tidak Bulat		Tengah Tidak Bulat		Belakang Bulat	
Tinggi	i				u	
Sedang	e		e		o	
Rendah	a					
Diftong (D) ada enam buah						
Merendah			Meninggi		Tinggi	
ia ua			oy ay aw		uy	
Konsonan (K) ada sembilan belas buah						
Jenis	Dasar Ucapan					
	Bibir	Ujung Lidah	Alas Ujung Lidah	Daun Lidah	Punggung Lidah	Anak Tekak
Letusan (tak bersuara)	p	t	t	c	k	q
Letusan (bersuara)	b		d	j	g	
Geseran		s				h
Nasal	m	n		ñ	ʔ	
Sampingan		l				
Getaran		r .....	.....	.....	.....	R
Luncuran	w			y		

Vokal /i/ direalisasikan sebagai [i, ɪ], vokal /e/ sebagai [e, E], vokal /a/ sebagai [a, â] (a = agak ketengah sedikit), vokal /ê/ sebagai [ê], vokal /o/ sebagai [o dan ɔ], dan /u/ sebagai [u dan u].

Diftong BMK, selain mempunyai 'glide' w dan y, juga a, yakni sebagai bunyi ikutan bunyi vokal. Diftong merendah /ia/ dan /ua/ mempunyai realisasi yang beragam, yakni /ia/ sebagai [ɪ, iE, iê, ia, i, E, Ea] dan /ua/ sebagai [uE, uê, ua, uɔ, u, ɔ, ɔa]. Diftong BMK ini hanya terdapat pada posisi akhir sebuah kata dasar dan fonem kedua dari akhir sebuah kata dasar. Kalau terdapat pada posisi yang disebutkan terakhir ini maka fonem akhir kata dasarnya itu hanyalah /ŋ/, /q/, /h/, dan di TP tertentu bunyi [R].

Konsonan /t/ di beberapa TP direalisasikan sebagai [t̚] dan /r/ sebagai [R], tetapi perbedaannya itu tidak fonemis. Semua konsonan tersebut dapat menduduki posisi awal dan tengah dengan catatan bahwa /q/ hanya terdapat sebelum vokal sebagai suatu keotomatisan, dan pada posisi tengah hanya terdapat pada beberapa kata tertentu. Konsonan /w, n, y, ŋ, q, h/ dapat menduduki posisi akhir, tetapi konsonan /s, c, j, ñ, k, g/ tidak terdapat pada posisi akhir.

Tingkah laku konsonan lain pada posisi akhir terlihat sebagai berikut.

- Konsonan /p/, /b/, /t/, hanya terdapat pada nama orang dan kata pinjaman; namun, hal ini tidaklah di semua TP. Juga hal yang sama untuk /l/;
- Konsonan /m/ hanya terdapat pada posisi akhir tetapi tidak di semua TP bila didahului oleh vokal /a/;
- Konsonan /r/ pada posisi itu hanya di TP1 yang direalisasikan sebagai [r], di beberapa TP direalisasikan sebagai [R], tetapi di sebagian TP tidak didengar;
- Konsonan /d/ hanya di TP 25 dalam kata yang terbatas (mengenai titik pengamatan ini lihat peta Lampiran 2).

2.2 Data fonetik fonologi BMK dibandingkan dengan data fonetik/fonologi BML/BI

Bila data fonetik/fonologi BMK di atas dibandingkan kepada BML/BI dapat dicatat hal-hal sebagai berikut.

- Keduanya mempunyai vokal yang sama. Hanya saja vokal /ê/ yang dalam BML/BI umumnya terdapat bukan pada suku/silabi terakhir kata dasar, pada BMK malah pada suku terakhir. Misalnya, rêbab (BML/BI), rêbeq (BMK); gêlas (BML/BI), galêh (BMK), kuêq (BMK). Fonem /ê/ itu kontras dengan fonem /e/ (/E/) dalam BMK seperti kosa kata di atas dengan rabEq *pagar*, galEh *barang dagangan*, kuEq *kuat*. Kaitan BML/BI dengan BMK melihat kata yang berasal sama dan yang dalam BML/BI berisi fonem /ê/ (pada suku kata bukan akhir) tampaknya harus dicari pada tingkat protonya, yakni pada rekonstruksi, misalnya, fonem Proto-Austronesian (PAN). Apalagi, bila kita bandingkan kata-kata dalam BML/BI seperti bêras, bênar, pêrut terdengar di daerah BMK (Sumatra Barat) bagian barat, barEh, bana, paru(y)q dan di bagian timur, borEh/boRE(h), bona/bonêR, poru(y)q/powu(y)q. (Lihat peta Lampiran 3). Di halaman 11 akan dibicarakan kaitannya dengan PAN itu.
- BML/BI hanya mempunyai 3 diftong, yaitu /ay/, /aw/, dan /oy/. BMK, di samping memiliki ketiga diftong itu, juga mempunyai diftong lain, yaitu /ia/, /ua/, dan /uy/. Bila masing-masing diftong BMK ini dibandingkan dengan dan dicari padanannya dengan BML/BI, akan terlihat hubungannya sebagai berikut.

- (1) Diftong /ia/ berpadanan dengan /-il, -ir, -er, -er/ pada suku kata terakhir BML/BI. Di samping itu, juga berpadanan dengan vokal /i/ dan /e/ pada suku kata akhir yang ditutup oleh /q/, /ŋ/, dan /h/. Kita yakin bahwa hal ini berkaitan juga dengan PAN-nya termasuk yang lainnya; jadi, bukan antara BML/BI dengan BMK, tetapi sama terkait induknya.
- (2) Diftong /ua/ berpadanan dengan /-ol, -ul, -or, -ur/ pada suku kata terakhir BML/BI. Di samping itu, juga berpadanan dengan vokal /o/ dan /u/ pada suku kata akhir yang ditutup oleh /q/, /ŋ/, dan /h/.
- (3) Diftong /uy/ BMK berpadanan dengan /-up, -ub, -ut, -ud, -us/ pada posisi akhir kata dasar BML/BI, tetapi diftong itu tidak merata terdapat di semua TP. Di TP yang tidak terdapat diftong /uy/ berpadanan pula dengan vokal /u/. Dengan kata lain, kata yang berkealasan sama antara BML/BI dan BMK (di tempat yang tidak terdapat diftong /uy/) yang berfonem */p, b, t, d, s/ pada posisi akhirnya, pada BML/BI tetap seperti asalnya, tetapi pada BMK fonem tersebut lebur. Berikut ini kita turunkan contoh distribusi ketiga diftong yang kita bicarakan di atas dengan padanannya dalam BML/BI.

Tabel 2: Contoh distribusi diftong khusus BMK		
Diftong	Distribusi dalam BMK	Padanan dalam BML/BI
/ia/	qay <u>ia</u> , li(h) <u>ia</u> , bay <u>ia</u> kan <u>ia</u> ŋ, gor <u>ia</u> ŋ, qad <u>ia</u> q cuk <u>ia</u> , tur <u>ia</u> h, put <u>ia</u> h	qair, leh <u>Er</u> , bayar kêniŋ, gor <u>E</u> ŋ, qadiq
/ua/	qiku <u>ua</u> , dap <u>ua</u> , cindu <u>ua</u> kau <u>ua</u> , qidu <u>ua</u> ŋ, qagu <u>ua</u> ŋ dudu <u>ua</u> q, guru <u>ua</u> h	qekor, dapur, cendol kau <u>l</u> , hidu <u>ŋ</u> , qegu <u>ŋ</u> dudu <u>q</u> , guru <u>h</u>
/uy/	qidu <u>yq</u> /qidu <u>q</u> , suju <u>yq</u> /suju <u>q</u> luru <u>yq</u> /luru <u>q</u> , qambu <u>y</u> h/qambu <u>h</u>	hidu <u>p</u> , suju <u>d</u> luru <u>t</u> , hêmbu <u>s</u>

- c. Baik konsonan BML/BI maupun konsonan BMK jumlahnya seimbang. Hanya saja konsonan /x/, /f/, /ʃ/, dan /z/ yang dalam BML/BI terdapat dalam kata pinjaman, tetapi dalam BMK menyesuaikan diri dengan sistem bunyinya. Misalnya, /xabar, fikir, farat, zaman/ (BML/BI); /kaba, pikia, syarêq, saman (BMK)

Konsonan /p, b, t, d/ pada posisi akhir kata BML/BI yang berkeasalan sama dengan BMK, maka konsonan tersebut berpadanan dengan /q/ dalam BMK. Hal yang sama antara /s/ pada posisi serupa dalam BML/BI berpadanan pula dengan /h/ dalam BMK. Misalnya: /qatap, sêbab, takut, pokad, manis/ dalam BML/BI berpadanan dengan /qatoq, sabêq, takuyq, pukêq, manih/ dalam BMK.

2.3 Morfologi

Dalam bidang morfologi hanya ditinjau satu bentuk saja, yaitu morfem terikat kata ganti persona ketiga tunggal. Menurut Dahl (1973) rekonstruksi PAN-nya adalah *ña. Dalam BML/BI terlihat refleksinya sebagai /-ña/. Dalam BMK terlihat bentuk-bentuk sebagai berikut. (Lihat peta Lampiran 4).

- (1) /-E/ terdapat di 15 TP (terbanyak), misalnya, ruma(h)E *rumahnya*, qagaqE *agaknya*;
- (2) /-a/ terdapat di 3 TP, misalnya, rumaa *rumahnya*, qagaqa *agaknya*;
- (3) /-o/ terdapat di 4 TP, misalnya, rumao, qagaqo;
- (4) /-no/ terdapat di 2 TP, misalnya, rumano, qagaqno.
- (5) /-ño/ terdapat di 5 TP, misalnya, rumahño, qagaqño.

Bila dilihat daerah pakai bentuk (5) ini (bentuk yang sama dengan BML/BI) umumnya terdapat di daerah rantau (perluasan wilayah Minangkabau). Dapat diduga bahwa di dalam BMK refleksi *ña bukan /-ño/. Bila kini kaum terpelajar memakai bentuk /-ño/, agaknya itu merupakan bentuk morfem BML/BI yang diminangkabaukan. Melihat luas penyebarannya, bentuk /-E/ merupakan bentuk morfem terikat kata ganti persona ketiga tunggal BMK yang datang dari bentuk protonya.

2.4 Kosa kata

Bidang kosa kata penelitian dialektologi itu menampilkan 816 konsep. Dari konsep itu diperoleh sebanyak 415 berian yang berbeda. Dalam konsep itu terdapat juga padanan 200 kosa kata Swadesh.

Untuk melihat sejauh mana hubungan BMK dengan BML/BI di bidang kosa kata ini, kita pergunakan padanan kosa kata Swadesh untuk perhitungan leksiko-statistik. Cara yang kita tempuh ialah mengumpulkan semua kosa kata berbeda padanan daftar Swadesh itu dari setiap TP, kecuali dari TP 25 karena TP 25 mempunyai beda yang besar dari TP lain kendatipun tidak sampai membentuk beda bahasa sendiri menurut perhitungan leksikometri, yang tidak memperlihatkan turunan yang sama dengan padanan BML/BI.

Dalam hal ini, sebuah kosa kata dipandang berbeda dari BML/BI apabila a) tidak ada berian yang sama atau terlihat kebersamaannya dengan kosa kata BML/BI; b) ada berian yang sama dengan BML/BI tetapi terdapat pula berian berbeda di TP itu dan masih dipakai (biasanya oleh orang tua-tua atau orang yang belum berpendidikan agak tinggi atau yang tidak sering bepergian); dan c) tidak terdapat berian konsep padanan daftar Swadesh itu di TP tersebut.

Dengan cara seperti di atas ditemui kosa kata berbeda padanan daftar Swadesh itu seperti terlihat berikut ini.

Tabel 3: Kosakata berbeda BML/BI dan BMK dari padanan 200 daftar Swadesh

No.	BML/BI	BMK	No.	BML/BI	BMK
1.	sêmua	sadoE/samoño	2.	dan	jo
3.	kulit kayu	subiran/pangubêr	4.	karêna	dEq
5.	bêsar	gadang	6.	gigit	kuih
7.	nafas	angoq	8.	bakar	parun/sia/sunu
9.	anaq	paja	10.	sêjuq	samalEro
11.	potong	kuduang/iciah	12.	mati	moda/kajEq
13.	kotor	kumuah/latia	14.	kêring	masiaq/tuhua
15.	tumpul	mumu(y)q	16.	dêbu	kabu(y)h/gabuaq
17.	jatuh	badabuaq/balapoh	18.	lêmaq	lamaq lauaq
19.	bapaq	nanaq/tunaq	20.	takut	gariq/kucun
21.	sêdikit	sakatiaq/sangEnEq	22.	bêrkêlahi	bacakaq
23.	ikan	lauaq	24.	mêrapung	tabogiq
25.	alir	ilia	26.	bêri	agiah
27.	baiq/Eloq	rancaq/santiang	28.	hi jaw	sanan
29.	tali pêrut	tambonsu	30.	rambut	abuaq
31.	dia	awaqE	32.	sini	siko
33.	pukul	tokoq/pungkang	34.	pêgang	paciq
35.	bagaymana	baqa	36.	suami	laki/rakanan
37.	saya	dEEn/waqden	38.	jika	koq
39.	tahu	abEh/tantu	40.	tertawa	galaq
41.	kiri	kida	42.	berbaring	bagolEq
43.	laki-laki	jantan	44.	banyaq	sambuah/ganoq
45.	daging	bantai	46.	ibu/êmaq	mandE(h)/biay
47.	mulut	muncuang	48.	dêkat	ampiang
49.	tidaq	indaq	50.	tua	gaEq
51.	satu	ciEq	52.	tariq	Elo/Egang/Epang
53.	tolaq	tungoq	54.	merah	sirah
55.	kanan	suoaq	56.	jalan	labuah
57.	busuq	lantuang	58.	gosoq	gisa
59.	pasir	kasiaq	60.	berkata	mangEcEq
61.	garut	garudaq	62.	lihat	caliaq
63.	pendeq	botoq	64.	nyanyi	dEndang
65.	tidur	laloq	66.	kecil	kEnEq/kaciaq
67.	licin/halus	lincia/aluyh	68.	beberapa	--
69.	ludah	ayia salEro	70.	belah	kapiang/batuah
71.	peras	ramEh/paciq	72.	tikam	antaq/amuaq
73.	berdiri	mananggiri	74.	hisap	duduyq
75.	duduq	malasua/ manyalepoh	76.	bengkaq	mangkatutuang
77.	itu	Etan/tEEn	78.	sana	sinan/niin
79.	mereka	naq urang	80.	ini	iko
81.	engkaw	waqang/kau	82.	lempar/ampoq	buang/campaq
83.	ikat	kabEq/kacuyq	84.	bEloq	kEloq
85.	muntah	duga	86.	panas	angEq
87.	cuci	sasah	88.	kami/kita	awaq
89.	basah	babiaq	90.	apa	aa
91.	bila	pangopan	92.	di mana	di maa

No.	BML/BI	BMK	No.	BML/BI	BMK
93.	siapa	sia	94.	lebar	lawEh
95.	jalan	labuah	96.	rumpot	siangan
97.	istêri	bini/padusi/ urang rumah	98.	sayap	kapaq
99.	sapu/hapus	pusi/sEka	100.	dêngan	jo
101.	pêrêmpuan	padusi/tino	102.	kamu (jamak)	kalian sadoE
103.	kaki	tungkai	104.	lêhEr	mariah/batangliêR
105.	kulit	jangEq	106.	jahit	karatang
107.	pokoq	kayu	108.	main	bosiq
109.	pêrut	lambuang			

Ternyata dari tabel di atas terlihat perbedaan kedua bahasa itu sebesar kurang lebih 56%. Sebetulnya masih banyak perbedaan kosa kata yang lain, tetapi frekuensi pemakaiannya telah amat berkurang karena didesak oleh kosa kata yang berkeasalan sama dengan BML/BI karena di sebagian TP terdapat kecenderungan bahwa kosa kata lama (BMK) dipandang agak kasar. Dengan kata lain, dapat disebutkan bahwa masih ada sekitar 56% kosa kata BMK yang masih tetap bertahan sampai saat sekarang kendatipun pengaruh BML/BI telah semakin terasa. Sebaliknya, kosa kata khusus BMK juga telah banyak turut memperkaya khasanah kosa kata BML/BI.

3. BMK bagi masyarakat Minangkabau selain berfungsi sebagai alat komunikasi antarkeluarga dan dalam masyarakat daerah sendiri (Isman 1978), juga menjadi alat perekam kebudayaan, filsafat adat, dan penanda identitas masyarakatnya. Kemajuan di bidang pendidikan dan keterbukaan pergaulan serta meningkatnya kesadaran nasional menyebabkan BMK menjadi berkembang. Kelihatannya dengan bahasa Indonesia saling mengisi. Namun, sebegitu jauh pengaruh BI ke dalam BMK masih terbatas pada lapisan kaum terpelajar dan di lingkungan kota dan areal lalu lintas. Di desa masih kelihatan pengaruh itu belum seberapa. Sebelum digalakkannya penyuluhan BI sejak beberapa tahun terakhir ini, masyarakat nagari (yang belum begitu terpelajar) masih sukar memahami BI sehingga diperlukan pemakaian BMK untuk memberikan penjelasan tentang sesuatu kepada masyarakat.

4. Sejauh yang diketahui BMK memang belum mempunyai tradisi tulisan. Pengenalan terhadap tulisan sejajar dengan pengenalan BML melalui ejaan Arab-Melayu dan kemudian ejaan van Ophuysen. Oleh karena itu, mudah dimengerti mengapa seorang putra Minangkabau bila akan berbahasa tulisan (sudah tentu orang terpelajar) menggunakan BML/BI. Sampai kini hal ini masih terasa, kendatipun telah mulai tampak kegiatan tulis-menulis dalam BMK tersebut.

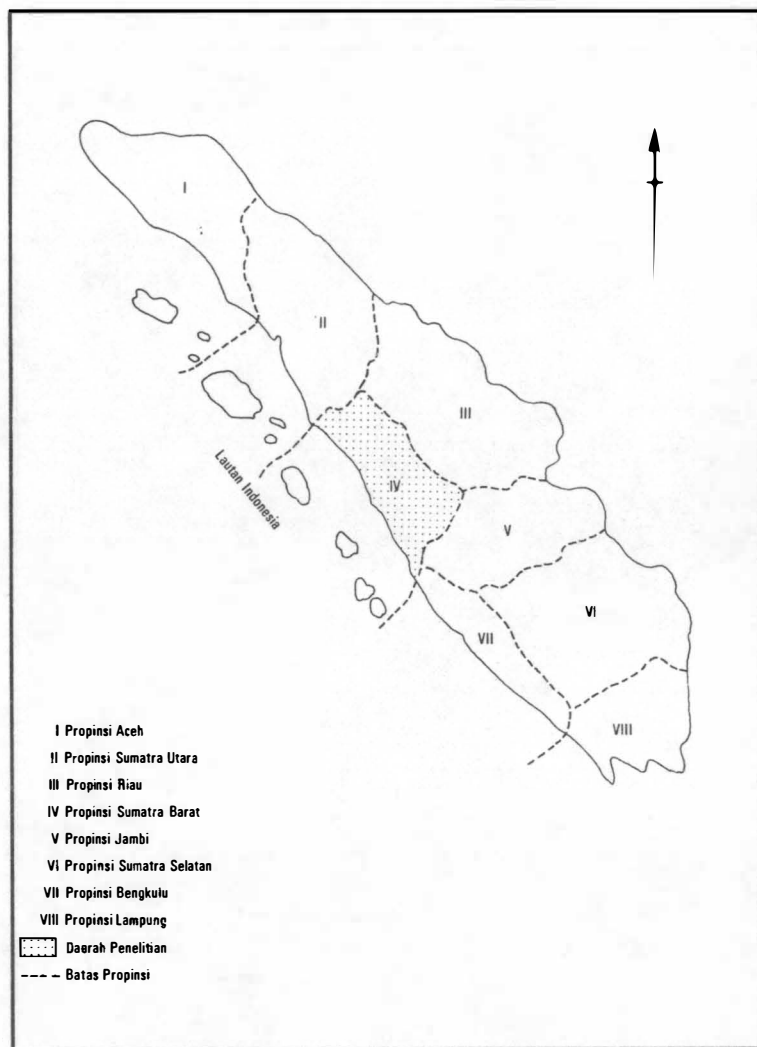
Dari hasil penelitian dialektologi tahun 1976/1977 ternyata bahwa dalam pembuatan surat pegang-gadai dan surat perjanjian, misalnya, masyarakat mempergunakan BML/BI (96,3%) dan mempergunakan BML/BI bercampur BMK (3,7%). Penelitian ini dilakukan di daerah Kabupaten Solok. Selanjutnya, dalam surat-surat kiriman dan penulisan berita pengumuman di mesjid atau di tempat umum ditulis dalam BI (Medan 1977:27).

5. Berikut ini kita coba melihat bentuk rekonstruksi PAN tentang kosa kata yang langsung terlihat refleksinya ke dalam kedua bahasa itu. Yang kita pilih beberapa refleksi PAN yang tidak terlihat bersamaan di antara BML/BI dan BMK.

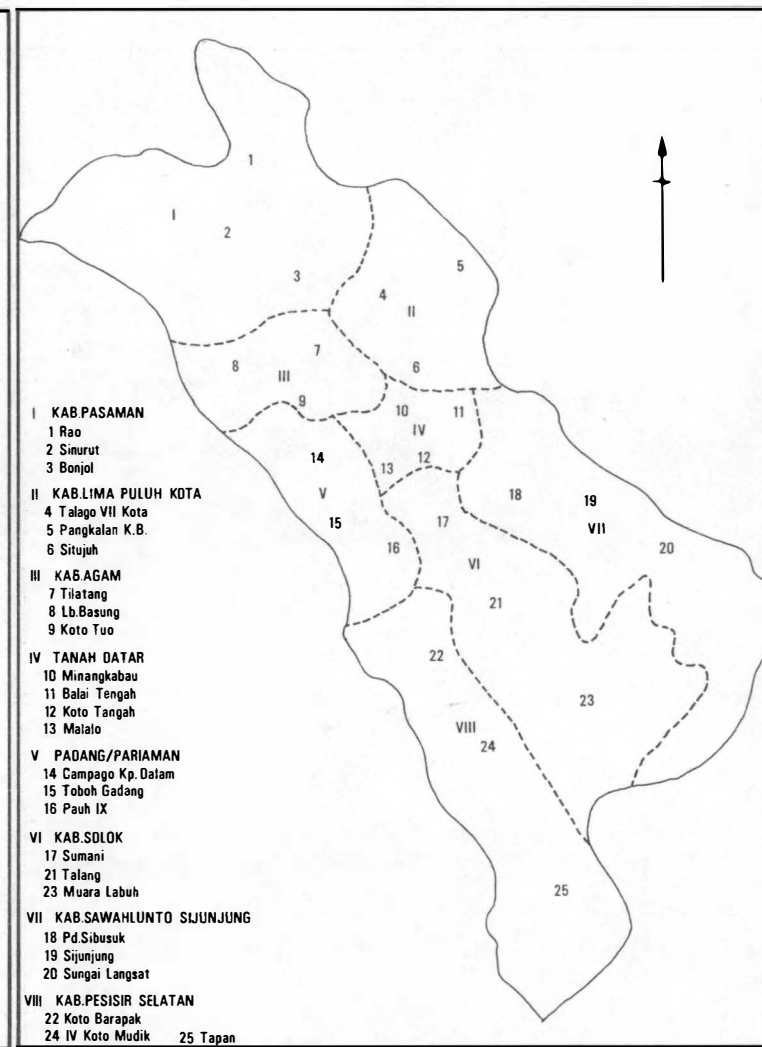
Tabel 4: Refleksi PAN (Beberapa kosa kata)			
PAN	Inggris	BML/BI	BMK
*qinaʔ	<i>mother</i>		unaq <i>ibu</i>
*waŋêṭ	<i>breath</i>		anoq <i>bernafas</i>
*ênêb	<i>quiet</i>	bungkam	anoq <i>tenang, diam</i>
*binay	<i>wife</i>		bini <i>isteri</i>
*bêṇit	<i>angry</i>	benjis <i>ganas</i>	baŋi(h) <i>marah</i>
*bagus	<i>beauty</i>	bagus	-
*balay	<i>house</i>	balay <i>rumah</i>	balay <i>pekan</i>
*buêk	<i>hair</i>	-	abuaq <i>rambut</i>
*camuk	<i>eat</i>	-	camuaq/cama <i>makan/</i> <i>rakus</i>
*/cs/u/Nñ/uR	<i>burn</i>	-	sunu <i>bakar</i>
*gêli/gh/	<i>laugh</i>	-	galaq <i>tertawa</i>
*kiva	<i>left</i>	-	kida <i>kiri</i>
*kêkêṭ	<i>hold</i>	-	kakoq <i>pegang</i>
*kêmêḍ	<i>dirty</i>	-	kuma/kumuah <i>kotor</i>
*kaw	<i>you</i>	ênkaw	kau/gau <i>engkau</i>
*laki	<i>husband</i>		laki <i>suami</i>
*manuk	<i>bird</i>		manuaq <i>ayam</i>
*mulut	<i>mouth</i>	mulut	-
*pu'un	<i>tree</i>	pohon	-
*/r/enit	<i>mosquito</i>	-	raŋiq <i>nyamuk</i>
*tuhur	<i>dry</i>		tu(h)ua <i>kering</i>
*wiRiʔ	<i>left</i>	kiri	-
dan lain-lain (Wurm dan Wilson 1975)			

Table di atas memperlihatkan bahwa BMK merefleksikan beberapa kosa kata PAN berbeda dari kosa kata yang direfleksikan oleh BML/BI.

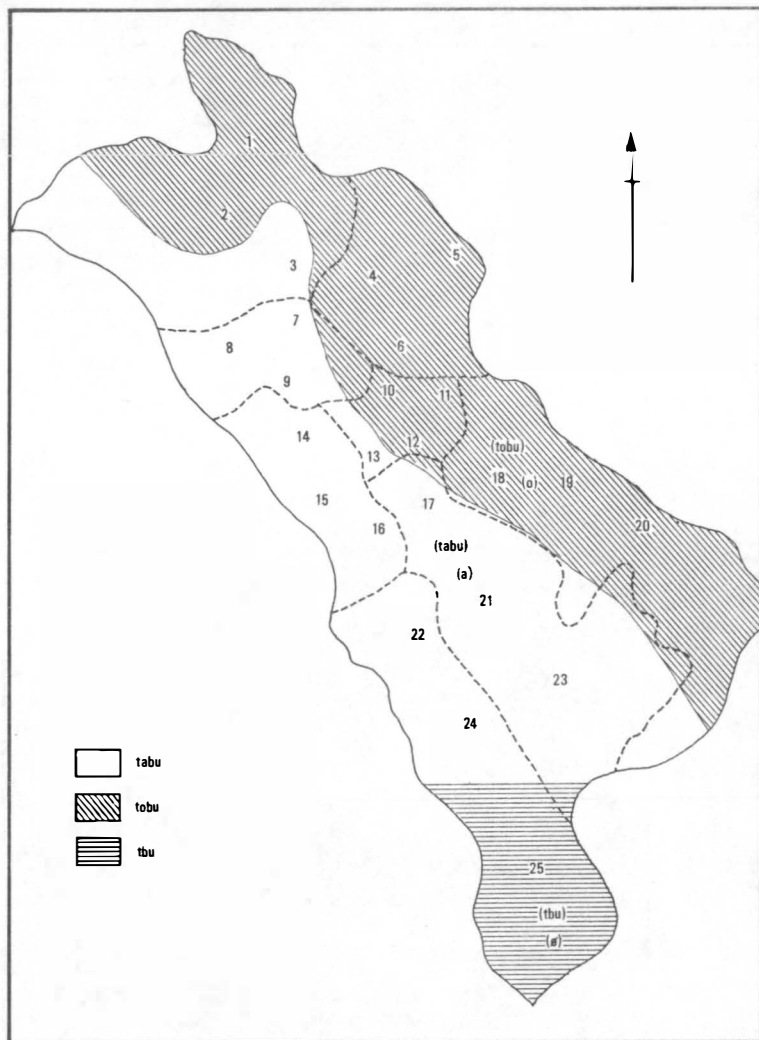
Refleksi fonem PAN dalam kedua bahasa itu juga terdapat beberapa perbedaan. Sebagai contoh dapat kita kemukakan fonem *ê (pepet). Dalam BML/BI refleksinya adalah /ê/ dan pada suku kata terakhir adalah /a/ (Nothofer 1975:202). Dalam BMK refleksinya adalah /a/ atau /o/ (peta Lampiran 3); dan pada suku kata terakhir terdapat beberapa perubahan, misalnya, sebelum *s, *t, dan *g, refleksinya /e/; dan sebelum *p dan *b refleksinya /o/. Misalnya:



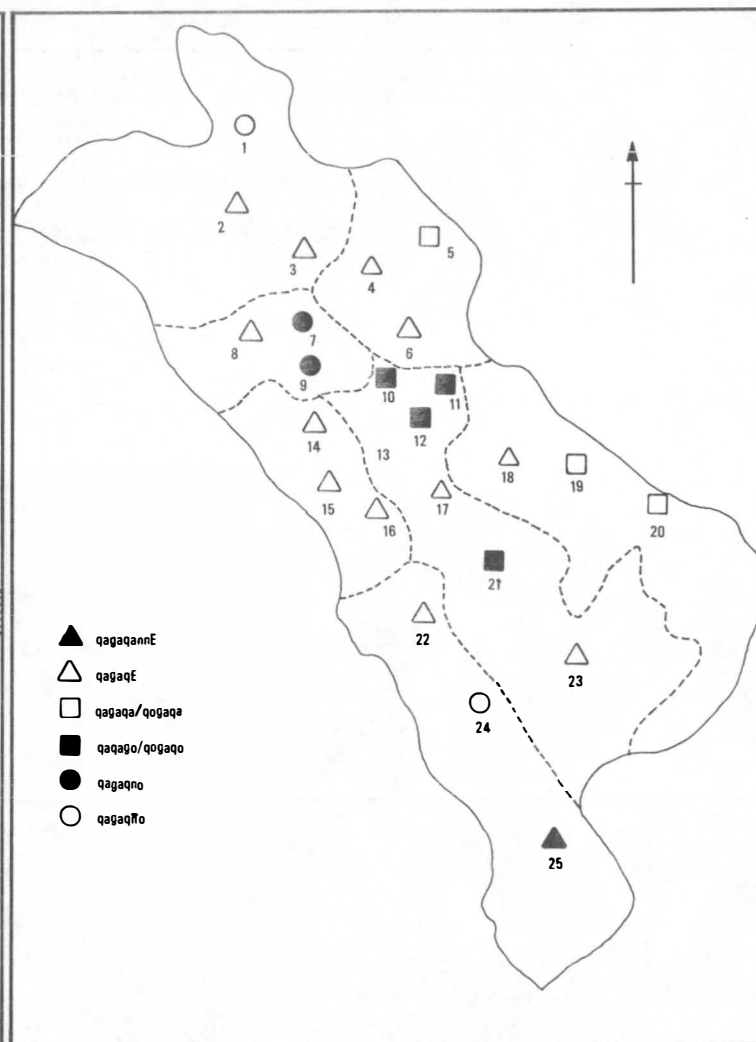
LAMPIRAN 1: Peta pulau Sumatra



LAMPIRAN 2: Peta daerah penelitian



LAMPIRAN 3: Peta vokoia [a] dan [o]
tabu 'tebu' (506)



LAMPIRAN 4: Peta morfem terikat /-ño/
qagaqno 'agaknya'

Tabel 5: Korespondensi fonem *ê

PAN	BML/BI	BMK
*malês	malas	malEh
*lêmês	lemas	lamEh
*/t/êmpêt	tempat	tampEq
*dêkêt	dekat	dakEq
*lalêq	lalat	lalEq
*put'eg	pusat	puseq
*ha(n)dêp	hadap	adoq
*ha|êp	harap	aroq
*ênêp		anoq
*dênêy	denar	daja
*tanêm	tanam	tanam/tanan
(Wurm dan Wilson 1975)		

6. Semua yang dikemukakan di atas, agaknya dapat memperkuat alasan untuk mengatakan bahwa BMK berada *di sebelah* BML; atau dengan kata lain, BMK bukan dialek/di bawah bahasa Melayu. Penyelusuran lebih lanjut terutama dengan PAN-nya sudah harus dilakukan agar persoalan *di sebelah* dan *di bawah* ini menjadi semakin jelas. Keterikatan pikiran—apalagi dengan hanya melihat selang pandang dan hanya dari jauh—bahwa bahasa Minangkabau adalah dialek bahasa Melayu sering mematahkan selera untuk *merancah* ke dalam bahasa Minangkabau itu sendiri.

Pengertian 'bahasa Melayu' itu sendiri kini haruslah pula memperhitungkan kala/waktu karena BI yang pada mulanya dapat 'bergaris miring' dengan BML, kini rasanya telah berjarak. Yang satu berlari terus mengejar kemantapan fungsi dan kedudukannya (BI) dan yang lain berjalan gontai membenahi fungsi dan kedudukannya pula sebagai bahasa daerah. Tentulah kala/waktu BML yang dimaksud berada di sebelah BMK ini adalah kala/waktu yang ditempati bersama BML dan BI (baku). Akan tetapi, bukan dalam pengertian 'Melayu' untuk bahasa-bahasa Melayu atau bahasa-bahasa Indonesia.

CATATAN

Dewan redaksi dan Elvina Tamsin sangat berterima kasih kepada Ibu Yohanni Johns dari Australian National University, dan rekan-rekan dari almarhum Drs. Tamsin Medan di IKIP Padang, yang telah membantu mengoreksi cetakan percobaan kertas kerja ini. Sangat kami sesalkan kepergian Drs. Tamsin Medan pada usia yang sangat muda, awal 1983, dan dengan bangga kami menerbitkan kertas kerja ini sebagai kenang-kenangan atas kemampuannya sebagai seorang ahli bahasa.

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UNSUR EMOTIF-EKSPRESIF DALAM KOSA KATA BAHASA JAWA

Soedjarwo

Dalam bahasa Jawa, di samping kata yang menyatakan perbuatan seperti lungguh *duduk*, tangi *bangkit*, dan lunga *pergi* ada unsur kosa kata lain yang memberikan gambaran lebih lanjut mengenai perbuatan tersebut. Perbuatan duduk, bangkit, atau pergi dilukiskan dengan rangkaian bunyi yang dapat membangkitkan gambaran dalam angan-angan mengenai bagaimana perbuatan itu dilaksanakan.

Di samping kata-kata peniru bunyi, dalam bahasa Jawa ada kata-kata yang membayangkan gerak atau keadaan. Dengan unsur-unsur kosa kata semacam itu suatu tuturan menjadi lebih ekspresif dan dapat menimbulkan bayangan yang hidup dan konkret dalam angan-angan. Perbuatan duduk, bangkit, dan pergi menjadi lebih jelas tergambar apabila disertai kata-kata yang menggambarkan gerak perbuatan tersebut menjadi: lungguh srog, tangi gregah, dan lunga klepat. Perbuatan yang dinyatakan oleh kata kerja ngadeg *berdiri*, mlayu *berlari*, ngguyu *tertawa*, nangis *menangis*, dan sila *bersila* menjadi lebih jelas terbayang apabila disertai kata-kata yang menggambarkan perbuatan tersebut menjadi: ngadeg nyat, mlayu brabat, ngguyu nggleges, nangis nggriyeng, dan sila nggedhepes.

Kata kerja yang diikuti oleh kata-kata yang menggambarkan gerak itu, meskipun tidak banyak, kita jumpai juga dalam bahasa Indonesia. Dalam bahasa Indonesia kita jumpai rangkaian kata tertawa terbahak-bahak, lari terbirit-birit, berjalan terhuyung-huyung, dan menangis tersedu-sedu. Dalam bahasa Sunda kata-kata yang menggambarkan gerak itu mendahului kata kerjanya sehingga disebut *kecap anteuran*.

Dalam bahasa Jawa sebenarnya bukan hanya kata kerja saja yang diikuti oleh unsur kosa kata seperti itu. Kata-kata keadaan seperti sepi *sepi*, padhang *terang*, resik *bersih*, ayu *cantik*, dan lemu *gemuk* sering pula diikuti oleh kata yang menggambarkan sifat atau keadaan tersebut menjadi: sepi mamring, padhang njingglang, resik gumrining, ayu thinik-thinik, dan lemu ginak-ginuk. Bahkan kita jumpai unsur kosa kata serupa itu dalam rangkaiannya dengan bilangan seperti sewengi mbethethet *semalam suntuk*, sedina laya *sehari penuh*, dan siji ndhil *hanya satu*, loro selo *hanya dua*, tidak lebih.

Unsur-unsur kosa kata yang emotif-ekspresif di atas mengikuti kata-kata lain atau terikat pada kata-kata lain. Unsur srog selalu mengikuti kata lungguh, gregah mengikuti kata tangi, dan klepat mengikuti kata lunga. Satu kata kerja atau kata sifat kadang-kadang memiliki lebih dari satu kata emotif-ekspresif. Kata lunga dapat diikuti oleh klepat atau blas, nangis nggriyeng

atau nangis mingseg-mingseg atau nangis ngglolo, ngguyu nggleges atau ngguyu cekakakan, sepi mamring atau sepi nyenyet, ayu thinik-thinik atau ayu moblong-moblong. Demikianlah gambaran mengenai gerak atau keadaan dari kata kerja atau kata sifat itu dapat bermacam-macam.

Unsur kosa kata emotif-ekspresif ada yang kemudian berdiri sendiri. Unsur gregah yang mengikuti tangi dapat tumbuh menjadi kata kerja tersendiri, yaitu gumregah, yang artinya bangkit, yang tentu saja dengan makna yang lebih emotif-ekspresif daripada tangi. Kata menga sering diikuti blak menjadi menga blak. Unsur blak ini kemudian tumbuh menjadi kata kerja ngeblak *terbuka* atau blak-blakan *secara terbuka* atau *terang-terangan*. Kata nggeblas artinya *pergi* dan cekakakan artinya *tertawa*, tetapi kedua kata itu maknanya lebih emotif-ekspresif daripada lunga dan ngguyu.

Kata kerja dan kata sifat seperti kemrungsung, mbesengut, mbrengengeng, ndheprok, gembroyos, mentheng-mentheng, dan nglokro memang berdiri sendiri tidak terikat kepada kata kerja atau kata keadaan. Kemrungsung menggambarkan perasaan yang tidak tenang dan terburu-buru, mbesengut menggambarkan wajah yang masam, memberengut, mbrengengeng menggambarkan tangis yang berkepanjangan, ndheprok artinya *duduk bersimpuh*, gembroyos menggambarkan keadaan gerah sehingga keringat bercucuran, mentheng-mentheng dikatakan untuk bisul yang tengah mengeras dan panas, dan nglokro dikatakan untuk semangat yang mengendur.

Kata-kata semacam itu jumlahnya tidak sedikit dalam bahasa Jawa. Contoh lain, misalnya, njrebabah, kemricik, klewa-klewa, klecam-klecam, cekakakan, bedigasan, dan yabyaban.

Di samping itu, masih ada lagi kata-kata yang menggambarkan bunyi, gerak, dan keadaan, yang didahului oleh partikel pengantar mak [ma?] dan pating [pating]. Partikel mak mengantar kata-kata peniru bunyi atau yang membayangkan gerak. Misalnya, mak dor, mak gedebug, mak jegaging, mak jranthal.

Partikel pengantar pating diikuti oleh peniru bunyi, gambaran tentang gerak atau keadaan juga, hanya bunyi gerak dan keadaan yang digambarkan itu banyak dan bermacam-macam, contohnya: pating cruwet, pating glodag, pating bilulung, pating sliwer, dan sebagainya.

Jadi, ada lima macam unsur kosa kata yang emotif-ekspresif dalam bahasa Jawa. Pertama ialah kata-kata yang mengikuti kata-kata yang menyatakan perbuatan, kedua kata-kata yang mengikuti dan menjelaskan kata sifat atau kata keadaan, ketiga kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang berdiri sendiri yang berupa kata kerja atau kata sifat, keempat kata-kata yang didahului partikel pengantar mak, dan kelima kata-kata yang didahului partikel pating.

Unsur kosa kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengikuti dan menjelaskan kata-kata yang menyatakan perbuatan ada yang hanya terdiri dari satu suku kata saja, misalnya, teka dog, lungguh srog, ngadeg nyat, mati pet, murub byar, lunga prung, ilang lap, mlebu bleng, turu les, dan menga blak. Ada yang terdiri dari dua suku kata, misalnya, mlebu bledeng, lunga klepat, mlayu brabat, ngguyu nggleges, nangis nggriyeng, tangi gregah, ngombe glenggeng, udan nggrejeh, njoget mleter, dan sindhen ngglenggeng. Yang terdiri dari tiga suku kata, misalnya, sila nggedhepes, muji ndremimil.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengikuti kata kerja itu banyak pula yang berupa ulangan, baik tanpa maupun dengan variasi vokal, contohnya: nangis mingseg-mingseg, mangan telap-telep, adus gebyar-gebyur, pupuran medhok-medhok, mlaku thimik-thimik, dan ngguyu lakak-lakak.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengikuti dan menjelaskan kata sifat atau keadaan ada yang terdiri dari dua suku kata, misalnya, sepi mamring, padhang njingglang, peteng ndhedhet, adhem njekut, pait ngetheg, teles klebes, abang mbranang, cilik mrengil, dan lemu mbleneg. Ada juga yang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya, garing mekingking, resik gumrining, dan panas sumelet.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengikuti kata keadaan ada juga yang berbentuk ulangan, misalnya, ayu thinik-thinik, endhek ipel-ipel, ijo royo-royo, lemu ginak-ginuk, omba ngoblah-oblah, esuk uthung-uthung, dan kebak mencep-mencep.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang berdiri sendiri yang berupa kata kerja atau kata sifat mempunyai keragaman bentuk yang hampir sama dengan kata kerja dan kata sifat. Unsur kosa kata tersebut dapat kita beda-bedakan menjadi beberapa macam yaitu yang berawalan sengau, yang mendapat sisipan -um-, yang berupa bentuk ulang, dan yang mendapat akhiran -an.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang berdiri sendiri yang berawalan sengau contohnya: mbesengut, mbrengkelo, methothok, metangkring, mbedhedheg, mencereng, njrebabah, mekungkung, ngececeng, ngendhanu, nyrekekel, mrekekong, nrecel, ngrembuyung, dan nggedangkrang.

Yang mengandung sisipan -um- contohnya: kemranyas, kemricik, semrepet, semrawut, kemrucuk, gemrobyos, sembribit, kemruwet, kemriyek, dumrojog, kemrungsung, kemrumpyung, kemrubit, kemremes, kemripik, dan kemrosak.

Kata kerja dan kata sifat yang emotif-ekspresif banyak pula yang berupa bentuk ulang. Bentuk ulang itu dapat kita bedakan menjadi dua macam yaitu ulangan biasa dan ulangan dengan variasi vokal. Yang berbentuk ulangan biasa misalnya: tharik-tharik, cekat-cekat, mentheng-mentheng, mentheg-mentheg, motol-motol, kimplah-kimplah, klewa-klewa, kremya-kremya, dakik-dakik, dan ngingkrik-ingkrik.

Ulangan dengan variasi vokal dapat kita bedakan menjadi beberapa macam, yaitu variasi [a → i, a → e, a → ε, a → ə, a → u, a → o, dan a → ɔ]. Kemudian unsur yang diulang itu dapat berupa satu suku kata, dua suku kata, atau tiga suku kata.

1. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi vokal [a → i]

a. Unsur yang diulang satu suku kata, misalnya:

thak-thik
nak-nik
sak-sik
dhak-dhik

b. Unsur yang diulang dua suku kata, misalnya:

kelap-kelip
kethap-kethip
glenak-glenik
uwak-uwik
mobat-mabit
moyak-mayik
plirak-plirik
clila-clili
morat-marit
montang-manting

- c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:

pethitha-pethithi
 pendelak-pendelik
 gendhulak-gendhulik
 sengkoyak-sengkayik
 kethuwal-kethuwil

2. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → e]

- a. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:

mencle-mencle
 egla-egle
 pletre-pletre
 lera-lerere

- b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:

peteta-petete
 pececa-pecece

3. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → ε]

- a. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas satu suku kata, misalnya:

mak-mek
 pak-pek
 mas-mes
 mbak-mbek

- b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:

klemak-klemek
 mewak-mewek
 lomah-lameh
 rowak-rawek

- c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:

pethentang-pethentheng
 cewewak-cewewek

4. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → ə]

- a. Unsur yang diulang satu suku kata, misalnya:

pat-pet
 pras-pres
 plak-plek
 sat-set
 cak-cek
 prak-prek
 bat-bet
 mak-mek

- b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:

klecam-klece
mencap-mencep
mesam-mesem
klesat-kleset
ugat-uget
klesar-kleser
uwag-uweg

- c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:

cethethak-cethethek
gendhelak-gendhelek

5. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → u]

- a. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas satu suku kata, misalnya:

blas-blus
bas-bus
byar-byur
sar-sur
blang-blung

- b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:

kompal-kampul
nyomak-nyamuk
grothal-grathul
soat-saut
modhal-madhul
senthak-senthuk

- c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:

gedebag-gedebug
cenunak-cenunuk
pecuca-pecucu

6. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → o]

Yang ada hanya yang unsur ulangnya terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:

clewa-clewo
lena-leno
gela-gelo

7. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → ɔ]

- a. Unsur ulangan yang diulang terdiri atas satu suku kata, misalnya:

sak-sok
nyah-nyoh

- b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:

plorak-plorok
glogak-glogok
sengak-sengok
petag-petog

c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:

pethothak-pethothok
jedhodhag-jedhodhog

Unsur kosa kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengandung akhiran -an contohnya: bedigasan, pencilakan, picicilan, byayakan, yabyaban, cekikikan, cekakakan, jlalatan, pendirangan, penthalitan, dan jlegjlegan.

Peniru bunyi dan penggambaran gerak dengan partikel pengantar mak dapat kita bedakan menjadi peniru bunyi dan penggambaran gerak.

Partikel mak yang diikuti kata peniru bunyi contohnya: mak dhor, mak bred, mak pyur, mak bel, mak pletheg, mak jegur, mak krompyang, mak grobyak, dan mak gedebug.

Partikel pengantar mak yang diikuti kata-kata yang menggambarkan gerak misalnya: mak brol, mak greg, mak nyes, mak plong, mak jranthal, mak bedhengus, mak gedabig, mak jegagig, mak gandhel, dan mak kentanting.

Unsur kosa kata emotif-ekspresif yang didahului partikel pengantar pating juga dapat dibedakan menjadi dua macam, yaitu peniru bunyi dan pelukisan gerak. Bedanya dengan kata-kata ekspresif yang diantar dengan partikel mak ialah bahwa pating dengan kata-kata yang mengikutinya itu meniru bunyi atay menggambarkan gerak yang banyak atay bermacam-macam.

Kata-kata peniru bunyi yang didahului oleh pating contohnya: pating cruwet, pating clebung, pating glodhag, pating jlerit, pating jlegur, pating kraek, pating brengok, pating kriyek, pating grobyak, dan pating krosak.

Kata-kata yang menggambarkan gerak contohnya: pating bilulung, pating sliwer, pating kruntel, pating glebyar, pating klepyur, dan pating grandhul. Berbeda dengan mak, partikel pengantar pating dapat mengantarkan kata-kata yang menggambarkan keadaan, misalnya, pating besasik, pating crongat, pating cromplong, pating cruwil, pating jenggeleg.

Adanya unsur kosa kata yang emotif-ekspresif dalam bahasa Jawa ini merupakan gejala yang menarik. Dengan unsur kata semacam itu suatu tuturan menjadi lebih plastis.

Uhlenbeck (1978) dalam beberapa karangan telah membahas beberapa kata kerja yang tidak termasuk kata kerja yang pokok (*peripheral verbs*) dalam bahasa Jawa yang mempunyai nilai ekspresif-emotif. Sebagai unsur kosa kata, meskipun ada yang sudah tercatat dalam kamus, tetapi kata kerja tersebut, seperti juga kata-kata yang dibicarakan di sini, termasuk unsur tambahan atau unsur pinggiran (*peripheral*).

Uhlenbeck membeda-bedakan kata kerja tersebut menjadi tiga macam, yaitu kata kerja yang berbentuk kata ulang, kata kerja dengan awalan pating [patin], dan kata kerja yang berawalan mak [ma?].

Kata kerja yang berupa kata ulang dengan alternasi vokal itu menurut Uhlenbeck pada umumnya menyatakan "*a repeated action combined with irritation or annoyance and in general a certain pathos on the part of the speakers*".

Mengenai bentuk pating dan mak, Uhlenbeck (1978:141) menyatakan sebagai berikut:

The semantic values of the two categories (i.e. the maq-forms and the patin-forms) are quite different. Combinations with patin- always imply the presence of a plural subject. They signal that a plurality of subjects partake in the action indicated by the rootmorpheme in different ways, in various places or in various degrees of intensity (141).

Mengenai bentuk mak selanjutnya Uhlenbeck mengatakan sebagai berikut.

Maq-forms always have a strong phonaesthetic and onomatopoeic character. They indicate a sudden, unexpected occurrence of a sound, a vivid movement or a swiftly executed action or process (141).

Rangkaian bunyi yang merupakan tanda dalam bahasa itu biasa dikatakan bahwa hubungannya dengan makna yang ditandainya bersifat arbitrer. Tidak ada ketentuan bahwa suatu rangkaian bunyi tertentu harus menandai makna tertentu; tidak ada hubungan tertentu antara tanda dengan yang ditandai.

Hal tersebut tidak berlaku untuk kata-kata emotif-ekspresif dalam bahasa Jawa yang dibicarakan dalam kertas kerja ini. Unsur kosa kata tersebut bukan hanya menandai atau melambangkan melainkan meniru, membayangkan, melukiskan, dan menyarankan hal yang ditandai atau yang dilambangkannya. Dalam hal ini hubungan antara tanda dan yang ditandai tidak sekedar arbitrer.

Unsur kosa kata yang emotif-ekspresif ini memberikan sumbangan yang besar bagi pengungkapan gagasan atau pengalaman secara plastis. Di pihak lain penggunaan unsur kosa kata ini dapat mengurangi kelugasan dan kecendekiaan tuturan.

Kebutuhan akan pengungkapan yang ekspresif-evokatif atau yang 'kena' memang sering timbul di kalangan penutur bahasa Indonesia yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Jawa. Di kalangan mereka itu sering kita dengar ucapan sebagai berikut.

Saya masih belum sreg.
Sekarang sudah plong.
Mesinnya masih thok-cer.
Rasanya kok kurang nges.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif tersebut mempunyai bermacam-macam bentuk tetapi sulit untuk diterangkan proses pembentukannya. Berbeda dengan kata-kata yang lain, meskipun kita dapat menyebutkan adanya awalan, sisipan, akhiran, atau perulangan, tetapi dasar katanya tidak pernah berdiri sendiri. Kita tidak dapat menguraikan makna bentuk-bentuk tersebut secara gramatikal berdasarkan proses pembentukannya.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang ada pada umumnya sulit diterjemahkan itu, memang bukan hanya merupakan bahan telaah ilmu bahasa, melainkan juga ilmu gaya bahasa atau stilistika.

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RAOS NGEMPELIN: SUATU BENTUK PERMAINAN BAHASA BERDASARKAN KEMENDUAAAN MAKNA (BEBERAPA CATATAN TENTANG STRUKTUR DAN FUNGSINYA DALAM MASYARAKAT BALI)

I Gusti Ngurah Bagus

1. PENDAHULUAN

Makalah yang penulis sajikan ini dapat dikatakan sebagai lanjutan dari studi terdahulu mengenai peribahasa Bali (Bagus dkk. 1980). Pada waktu meneliti aspek tersebut antara lain penulis jumpai istilah *paribasa* yang sepanjang pengetahuan penulis tidak ada padanannya dalam bahasa Indonesia. Walaupun para ahli bahasa Bali berbeda pendapat mengenai jangkauan pengertiannya, tetapi di antara mereka ada kesamaannya, yaitu bahwa apa yang menjadi pokok pembicaraan (raos ngempelin) dalam makalah ini adalah termasuk di dalamnya (Bagus dkk. 1980).

Mengenai raos ngempelin yang khusus dijadikan pokok pembicaraan sekarang dapat dijelaskan bahwa secara linguistik istilah tersebut terdiri atas dua kata, yaitu kata raos dan ngempelin. Kata raos *bicara*, *ucapan* dan ngempelin berasal dari kata dasar *gempel menjadi satu* yang mendapat awalan nasal serta akhiran *-in* dan dalam bentuk kata turunan ini memperoleh arti khusus *bermakna ganda*¹. Dalam kamus Kersten (1978:170) diberikan contoh tentang pemakaian kata tersebut sebagai berikut. Makelo baana ngraos, sakewala ngempelin dogen *Lama ia ber-bicara, tetapi ucapannya selalu membawa arti dua*.

Dalam masyarakat Bali raos ngempelin sebagai suatu istilah telah mempunyai makna yang agak lain. Namun, tampak hubungan dengan pengertian di atas. Menurut hemat penulis raos ngempelin dapat diartikan suatu bentuk permainan bahasa yang berdasarkan kemenduaan makna (ambiguitas)².

Sehubungan dengan ini telah ada beberapa penelitian yang dilakukan oleh para ahli mengenai raos ngempelin ini (Swellengrebel 1950-1953; Ranuh 1963 dan 1970; Ginarsa 1971; Simpen 1972; Tinggen 1978, dan Hobart 1978:59). Namun, analisisnya belumlah memuaskan benar. Oleh karena itu, masalah tersebut perlu diteliti lebih dalam lagi.

Khusus mengenai penelitian ini di samping memanfaatkan hasil penelitian terdahulu, juga penelitian ini bertitik tolak dari segi yang lain, yaitu dari etnografi berbahasa/komunikasi sebagaimana yang dikemukakan oleh Gumperz (1972:1-25) dan Hymes (1972:35-71; 1974:443-451). Dalam pendekatan ini raos ngempelin akan dipandang sebagai fakta sosial, yaitu yang melihat raos ngempelin

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itu dipakai dalam masyarakat. Oleh karena itu, raos ngempelin tidak akan dipandang sebagai satu peristiwa linguistik semata melainkan akan dihubungkan dengan komponen-komponen lainnya seperti, latar belakang, partisipan, situasi, dan jenis data (lisan, tertulis).

Apabila diperhatikan fungsi pemakaiannya, jelas tampak suatu perilaku partisipan yang sangat cerdas mempergunakan bentuk ini sehingga dapat mencapai sasarannya yang efektif. Oleh karena itu, dalam hal ini akan penulis pergunakan konsep 'manipulasi' sebagai suatu kunci untuk memahami raos ngempelin tersebut. Istilah ini berasal dari Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett dan Joel Sherzer (1976:1-16). Menurut hemat penulis konsep ini sangat tepat dipakai untuk menerangkan bagaimana caranya partisipan itu memanipulasi tidak saja aspek bahasa melainkan juga suasana dan latar belakang pembicaraan.

Adapun data yang dipakai sebagai dasar analisis ini, selain data yang telah dikumpulkan oleh peneliti-peneliti terdahulu, dipergunakan pula data yang dikumpulkan oleh penulis sendiri. Data tersebut pada dasarnya ada yang diambil dari data tertulis yang dikumpulkan oleh para peneliti terutama dari para filolog dan data lisan pihak ahli antropologi yang umumnya diangkat dari kehidupan sehari-hari di dalam masyarakat.

2. STRUKTUR

Untuk memberikan gambaran yang lebih luas raos ngempelin tersebut dalam kesempatan ini ada baiknya pula diberikan uraian sepintas mengenai variasi bahasa Bali. Sehubungan dengan ini, yang akan diuraikan adalah mengenai variasi tingkat-tingkat bicara/unda-usuk bahasa Bali. Dalam bahasa Bali dikenal adanya unda-usuk *alus* (bentuk hormat) dan *kasar* (lepas hormat)³. Oleh karena itu, untuk jelasnya setiap raos ngempelin yang akan dibahas dalam karangan ini akan dibubuhi pula keterangan mengenai unda-usuknya. Di samping itu, karena penelitian ini didasarkan kepada data lisan dan tertulis yang dipakai terutama dalam konteks informal/santai, maka perbedaan situasi ini pun akan mengakibatkan dipakainya variasi baku dan nonbaku. Hal ini akan disinggung pula dalam pembahasan raos ngempelin sebagaimana akan terurai di bawah.

Sebagai telah diuraikan di atas bahwa dalam menganalisis masalah permainan bahasa ini penulis akan bertitik tolak dari fungsi pemakaian, yaitu bagaimana partisipan itu secara cerdas memanipulasi unsur dan relasi bahasa untuk mencapai tujuannya dalam hal ini untuk memunculkan kemenduaan makna/ambiguitas sehingga kalimat itu dapat diartikan berlainan. Agar pemanipulasian tersebut dapat dilihat lebih renik, maka hal itu akan dibahas secara terperinci dalam tiga aspek pembedaan, yaitu (1) aspek fonetik dan fonologi, (2) aspek morfologi dan sintaksis, dan (3) aspek leksikal⁴.

2.1 Aspek fonetik dan fonologi

Contoh dalam aspek ini akan diambil kalimat dari laporan penelitian seorang sarjana antropologi (Hobart 1978:59) yang lama meneliti di suatu daerah pedesaan di Bali. Kalimatnya berbunyi sebagai berikut.

(1) Ka kija? (*kasar*)

Kalimat di atas karena dimanipulasi dapat berarti,

- a. *Akan ke mana?*
- b. *Datuk di mana?*

Kalimat itu dalam arti (a) biasanya dipakai untuk menyapa seseorang apabila berjumpa di tengah jalan. Kalimat itu adalah kalimat dalam bentuk nonbaku, dalam bentuk baku akan diucapkan, bakal kija? Namun, dalam situasi santai cukup diucapkan seperti di atas dan biasanya agak cepat sehingga kedengarannya menjadi kaki ja? Dalam ucapan yang demikian kalimat ini dapat diartikan seperti (b) karena kata kaki *datuk* dan ja *di mana* (kata ja adalah kependekan dari kata dija). Oleh karena itu, dalam laporan itu diterangkan juga bahwa lawan bicara lalu menjawab pertanyaan itu dengan jawaban Di semae *Di kuburan* (kata turunan semae adalah bentuk nonbaku berupa dialek, bentuk bakunya adalah semane). Maksud jawaban ini adalah menyatakan bahwa datuknya itu telah meninggal dan sekarang ada di kuburan.

- (2) Ulat keto, da campah-campahina ia, kaden anak belog, dugase di Sasak ia nukangin. (*kasar*)
 - a. Walaupun demikian, dia itu jangan dianggap enteng, dikira ia bodoh, waktu di Sasak ia menjadi tukang (menjalankan pekerjaan tukang).
 - b. Walaupun demikian, dia jangan dianggap enteng, dikira ia bodoh, waktu di Sasak ia masih tinggal di timur (maksudnya sebelah timur Bali).

Dalam kalimat di atas yang dimanipulasikan itu adalah kata nukangin *menjadi tukang*. Kata turunan ini berasal dari kata dasar tukang mendapat awalan nasal (N-) dan akhiran -in sehingga artinya *menjalankan pekerjaan sebagai tukang*.

Kata di atas dapat juga dibaca dengan cara terpisah, yaitu dengan memindahkan tekanan ke suku kata pertama sehingga kata turunan itu menjadi dua kata ialah nu *masih* dan kangin *timur*.

- (3) Ada buin semaluh nyidayang molongin kau. (*kasar*)
 - a. Ada lagi semut yang dapat melubangi tempurung.
 - b. Ada lagi tupai betina yang dapat melubangi tempurung.

Sama halnya dengan contoh kalimat (2) di atas, yaitu dengan cara memindahkan tekanan kata akan mengakibatkan pula arti yang lain. Yang dimanipulasikan dalam kalimat (3) ini adalah kata semaluh *sejenis semut*, dan dengan memindahkan tekanan, kata/morfem bebas itu dapat menjadi dua kata (morfem bebas), yaitu semal *tupai* dan luh *betina*.

2.2 Aspek morfologi dan sintaksis

Pertama manipulasi dalam bidang morfologi dapat diberikan contohnya sebagai tersebut di bawah ini.

- (4) Lasan mati, padang idup makelo. (*kasar*)
 - a. Lebih ikhlas mati, dibandingkan dengan hidup lama.
 - b. Kadal mati, rumput hidup lama.

Dalam kalimat di atas ada dua kata yang dimanipulasi, yaitu lasan dan padang. Dalam arti (a) kata lasan adalah kata turunan yang dibentuk dari kata dasar las *ikhlas* dan mendapat akhiran -an. Akhiran -an di sini adalah akhiran untuk menyatakan perbandingan sehingga kata turunan itu mengandung arti komparatif, sedangkan yang kedua adalah kata padang, yang dalam hal ini juga merupakan kata turunan yang dibentuk dari kata pada *sama* yang mendapat akhiran -ang dan -kan⁵.

Dalam arti yang kedua, kata lasan adalah bentuk nonbaku kata lelasan *kadal*, sedangkan kata padang bermakna *rumpit*. Dengan adanya manipulasi itu, kalimat di atas dapat diartikan sebagai (b) tersebut di atas.

- (5) Daweg punika dados ida anoman ring titiang. (*alus*)

Sama halnya dengan kalimat di atas, kalimat ini pun jika dimanipulasi dapat berarti sebagai berikut.

- a. Waktu itu beliau adalah lebih muda daripada saya.
- b. Waktu itu beliau jadi Anoman bersama saya.

Kalimat tersebut di atas, dapat menimbulkan kemenduaan makna karena kata anoman dalam arti kalimat yang pertama adalah kata turunan yang dibentuk dari kata sifat anom *muda* dan mendapat akhiran -an. Mengenai arti akhiran -an di sini sama dengan arti akhiran -an sebagai yang disebutkan dalam kalimat (4) di atas, sedangkan dalam arti kedua, kata anoman adalah nama tokoh dalam wira-carita Ramayana, yaitu Anoman.

- (6) Saking ungkur pakantenane ida sampun tua ruyud, wawu awas saking arep nguda peceh. (*alus*)

Kalimat di atas dapat diartikan sebagai berikut.

- a. Dari belakang beliau itu kelihatannya sudah tua renta, baru diperhatikan dari depan masih kanak-kanak.
- b. Dari belakang beliau itu kelihatannya tua renta, baru diperhatikan dari depan kenapa ada tahi mata.

Kalimat di atas dapat ditafsirkan mendua karena ada kata nguda peceh yang dapat dipandang sebagai kata majemuk yang artinya *kanak-kanak, amat muda* dan kalau kata itu diucapkan dengan memindahkan tekanannya pada kata nguda akan berarti *kenapa*, peceh akan berarti *tahi mata*.

- (7) Pagaen iane matumpuk-tumpuk di Badung kranane ia sing maan mai. (*kasar*)

Kalimat di atas dapat diartikan sebagai berikut.

- a. Pekerjaannya amat banyak (*bertumpuk-tumpuk*) di Badung/Denpasar karena itu ia tidak dapat datang ke mari.
- b. Pekerjaannya bersanggama saja di Badung/Denpasar karena itu ia tidak datang ke mari.

Yang dimanipulasikan dalam kalimat di atas adalah kata ulang matumpuk-tumpuk. Kata turunan ini berasal dari kata tumpuk *lapis dua, tumpuk*. Untuk menunjukkan bahwa pekerjaannya itu banyak, lalu kata itu diulang sehingga mendapat arti (a) *amat banyak/bertumpuk-tumpuk* dan (b) *bersanggama*.

Mengenai aspek kalimat akan diambil dari contoh yang sudah terkenal yang berasal dari *Geguritan Sampik*⁶ yang di antara syairnya ada yang mengandung permainan bahasa yang dianggap menimbulkan kemenduaan makna. Kalimat itu diucapkan oleh sang putri bernama Ni Nyonyah Ingtai kepada kekasihnya I Babah Sampik yang berisi perjanjian agar pada hari yang telah ditetapkan oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingtai, I Sampik datang meminangnya. Syair tersebut memakai tembang Durma sebagai berikut⁷.

- (8) "Ne dewasane jalanin Beli luas,
 ingetang da ngengsapin
 telu pitu nemnem patpat,
 dadua kutus dina melah,
 yaneng kasep Beli nampi,
 janten anak lian,
 elingang sampunang lali."
*Inilah hari yang baik untuk Kanda lakukan (melamar),
 ingatlah hendaknya jangan dilupakan,
 tiga tujuh enam empat,
 dua delapan hari yang baik,
 bila Kanda terlambat menerima,
 pastilah ada orang lain,
 ingatlah hal itu jangan dilupakan.*

Yang menjadi masalah penafsiran adalah kapan akan dilaksanakan. Dalam hal ini ada dua penafsiran, yaitu (a) ada yang *tiga puluh hari* dan (b) ada yang *sepuluh hari*. Hal itu didasarkan pada kalimat sebagai yang tercantum dalam baris ketiga dan keempat. Kalimat-kalimat itu diperpendek sedemikian rupa karena tuntutan patokan dari puisi tradisional Bali yang disebut pada *lingsa* (banyaknya baris, suku kata dalam tiap baris akhir, dan banyaknya suku kata tiap baris). Maksud Ni Nyonyah Ingtai adalah *sepuluh hari lagi*, tetapi I Sampik mengartikannya *tiga puluh hari lagi*.

Hal itu jelas dari umpatan Ni Nyonyah Ingtai kepada kekasihnya I Sampik yang terlambat datang sebagai yang termaksud dalam syair dengan pupuh *Ginada* sebagai tersebut di bawah ini.

- (9) "Ping telu ngorahang dasa dina
 janjin titiang ring Beli,
 kaden Beli bin abulan,
 tigang dasa laminipun,
 Beli kasep ngalih titiang,
 belog gati,
 nampi munyi tuara nawang,"
*Tiga kali mengatakan sepuluh hari,
 janjiku pada Kanda,
 Kanda kira sebulan lagi,
 tiga puluh hari lamanya,
 Kanda telah terlambat melamarku,
 Kau sangat dungu,
 menerima pesan tak mengerti.*

Karena terjadi salah paham mengenai makna kalimat di atas sehingga I Sampik merasa dirinya ditipu (cangkika) oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingtai.

2.3 Aspek leksikal

Sudah dapat diduga dari uraian di atas bahwa dalam aspek leksikal ini akan didapati pula banyak kata yang dapat dimanipulasikan. Dalam hal ini adalah kata-kata yang homonim. Untuk jelasnya akan diberikan contohnya sebagai berikut.

- (10) Api mati, icang laku kema. (*kasar*)

Kalimat di atas dapat berarti:

- a. walaupun mati, saya akan ke sana.
- b. api mati, saya akan ke sana.

Yang dimanipulasikan dalam kalimat di atas ialah kata *api*. Kata *api* dalam bahasa Bali dapat mempunyai arti dua, yaitu (1) walaupun (sebagai kata tugas) dan (2) api (sebagai kata benda).

- (11) Tiang masih keto, ulat belog-belogan, jumah pasti tiang dadi guru.
(alus madia)

Sama halnya dengan kalimat lainnya yang dibahas terdahulu, kalimat (11) tersebut di atas pun dapat berarti:

- a. *Saya demikian juga, walaupun tidak begitu pandai, di rumah pasti jadi guru.*
- b. *Saya demikian juga, walaupun tidak begitu pandai, di rumah pasti dipanggil ayah.*

Dalam kalimat di atas yang dimanipulasi adalah kata guru. Kata guru dalam hal ini dapat berarti *guru* dan juga *ayah* dalam arti *alus madia* yang dipakai terutama dalam lingkungan lapisan tertentu dalam masyarakat Bali.

3. FUNGSI

Seperti telah dikatakan pada bagian pendahuluan bahwa untuk melihat permainan bahasa dalam bentuk raos ngempelin, studi ini memakai pendekatan etnografi berbahasa, yaitu dengan melihat fungsi pemakaian permainan bahasa itu dalam masyarakat. Apabila kita perhatikan pemakaian bentuk tersebut di dalam masyarakat, akan tampak jelas bahwa pemakaiannya itu terutama dipergunakan dalam lingkungan pergaulan masyarakat, yaitu antara warga masyarakat yang sudah saling mengenal dan biasanya dipergunakan dalam suasana pertemuan/perjumpaan itu, sekedar untuk mengisi waktu biasanya, orang memerlukan bahan pembicaraan yang dalam bahasa Bali disebut *pasiakranan*. Padanannya dalam bahasa Indonesia belum penulis peroleh. Dalam hal ini pengalaman membuktikan bahwa tidak jarang dalam pertemuan akrab dengan kawan kadang-kadang kita kehilangan bahan pembicaraan sehingga suasana menjadi kaku. Untuk mengisi waktu yang demikian diperlukanlah pembicaraan yang ringan-ringan sehingga suasana menjadi santai. Pokok pembicaraan dapat diambil dari hal-hal yang dihadapi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari seperti pekerjaan di sawah, di kantor, tentang persahabatan, dan tidak jarang pula mengenai hal-hal hubungan laki-laki dan wanita, dan sebagainya. Hal ini mungkin dapat terjadi di warung-warung kopi, pada pertemuan di balai *banjar*, pada pesta-pesta, dan sebagainya. Sambil menikmati minuman orang mengobrol yang enteng-enteng tentang kehidupan sehari-hari sehingga tidak jarang dalam suasana seperti itu pembicaraan dan obrolan dapat berlanjut sehingga menimbulkan senda gurau dengan memakai/mempergunakan permainan bahasa. Sudah barang tentu pada waktu diucapkan permainan bahasa itu suasana telah diselingi oleh gelak ketawa. Dalam situasi yang demikian, kelucuan itu sering pula tergelincir ke arah pembicaraan yang agak pornografi sebagaimana ternyata dari contoh kalimat (7) di atas. Kalimat itu penulis angkat dari suatu desa kecil di Karangasem. Setelah usai santap, sambil menunggu waktu pulang, orang mengobrol tentang pelbagai masalah. Akhirnya, pembicaraan diarahkan kepada masalah kehidupan kota Denpasar yang berhubungan dengan meningkatnya kota itu sebagai pusat pariwisata sehingga berkembang pulalah pelacuran. Dengan latar belakang menyinggung perkembangan kota seperti itu, dalam obrolan itu muncullah kalimat seperti nomor (7) di atas.

Dalam obrolan yang penuh senda gurau seperti itu untuk menambah kehangatan suasana kadangkala pula disertai dengan petikan jenis peribahasa yang di Bali disebut *wewangsalan* sebagai berikut.

Salak di kawan	<i>Salak di sebelah barat,</i>
ketimun di kanginan,	<i>mentimun di sebelah timur,</i>
galak ne luane,	<i>berani yang perempuan,</i>
kimud ne muanine.	<i>malu yang laki-laki.</i>

Di samping itu, sebagaimana contoh yang terurai di atas, kadangkala permainan bahasa itu dapat juga dipakai untuk memperdaya/menipu kawan, bahkan kekasih yang sangat dicintai. Hal ini dalam bahasa Bali seperti telah disebut di atas disebut nyangkit atau nyangkik. Sebagai contohnya diambil dari jawaban I Sampik kepada ayahnya yang menceritakan bahwa ia merasa diperdaya oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingta sebagai tercantum dalam untaian syair berikut ini (puh Sinom).

"Lacur san Bapa mapianak,	<i>Sungguh malang Ayahanda mempunyai anak</i>
	<i>anak seperti saya ini,</i>
mati titiang kena <u>kecangkik</u> ,	<i>mati saya karena terpedaya,</i>
baan Ni Ingta Nyonyah,	<i>oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingta,</i>
penter ngalahang muani,	<i>pandai menaklukan laki-laki,</i>
akal liu dueg mamunyi,	<i>akalnya banyak pandai bersilat lidah,</i>
goba jegeg sami lung,	<i>rupa cantik semuanya serasi,</i>
nguciwayang isin jagat,	<i>mengalahkan isi dunia,</i>
depang di gumine dini,	<i>terutama dalam lingkungan masyarakat</i>
	<i>di sini,</i>
teka ngunggul,	<i>dia unggul,</i>
nika Bapa apang sida."	<i>Ayahanda, usahakanlah biar dia dapat</i>
	<i>diperoleh.</i>

Dengan contoh-contoh di atas jelas bahwa hakikat permainan bahasa itu adalah mengandung kelucuan sehingga tidak mengherankan permainan bahasa itu sering dipakai dalam seni sastra dan seni pertunjukan, terutama pada waktu obrolan antarpakanawan. Dengan demikian, jelaslah bahwa fungsi pemakaian permainan bahasa dalam adegan tersebut adalah untuk menciptakan/menimbulkan suasana lucu sehingga mendapat sambutan yang hangat dari para penonton.

4. KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

Walaupun penelitian ini belum mendalam benar, tetapi dari uraian di atas dapat ditarik kesimpulan beberapa hal sebagai terurai di bawah ini.

- (1) Untuk memunculkan kemenduaan makna, hal itu dapat dimanipulasikan dengan:
 - a. menyatakan ucapan sehingga terbentuk homonim;
 - b. memindahkan tekanan sehingga terbentuk dua kata;
 - c. menafsirkan makna kalimat; dan
 - d. memanfaatkan kata-kata yang homonim.
- (2) Mengenai fungsi raos ngempelin dalam masyarakat dapat berupa sekedar untuk melucu; dan di samping itu, dapat pula dipakai memperdaya/menipu orang lain.

- (3) Berdasarkan fungsinya sebagai terurai pada (2) raos ngempelin itu dapat dipakai untuk meningkatkan mutu karya seni baik seni sastra maupun seni pertunjukan.

Seperti ternyata dari uraian di atas walaupun telah ada dilakukan penelitian mengenai bentuk permainan bahasa, tetapi secara menyeluruh belum tuntas benar. Oleh karena itu, masalah tersebut perlu diselidiki lebih lanjut sehingga hasil penelitian itu akan merupakan sumbangan antara lain ilmu linguistik, ilmu sosiolinguistik, ilmu filsafat, ilmu kesusastraan, ilmu seni drama, dan ilmu antropologi.

CATATAN

1. Bandingkanlah keterangan kata gempel sebagai yang terdapat dalam kamus Kersten (1978:170) dengan kamus Panitia Penyusun Kamus Bali-Indonesia (1978:199).
2. Sebagai suatu istilah kata ini tidak terdapat dalam kedua kamus sebagai yang tersebut dalam catatan 1.
3. Dalam tingkat *alus* termasuk juga *alus madia*.
4. Dalam karangan ini penulis mengikuti pendapat Ullmann (1970:156-192).
5. Untuk memahami lebih lanjut proses morfologis serta arti kedua akhiran tersebut di atas, bacalah Kersten (1970:67-73); Jendra, dkk. (1977:83-95).
6. Geguritan ini telah diterbitkan dan diterjemahkan oleh I Gusti Md. Susrama (1960).
7. Teks tersebut diambil dari teks sebagai yang diterbitkan oleh Susrama, tetapi terjemahannya menurut terjemahan penulis sendiri.

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